

JUCHE CAUSE and SONGUN POLITICS



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Preface

This is the fourth volume in the series of my works written on the brilliant cause of independence of man, the Juche cause.

President **Kim Il Sung** founded the Juche idea in the course of the struggle to liberate Korea from the yoke of the Japanese colonial rule and realize full independence of the Korean people.

The Juche cause is the cause of liberation struggle aimed at realizing the independence of the Korean people and the Juche idea is the guiding idea in the struggle to accomplish that cause. As such people generally try to identify the Juche cause with the independent cause of the Korean people and the Juche idea with the guiding philosophy of their struggle. But in reality the basics of the Juche cause is the cause of independence of man or mankind as a whole, in other words, the emancipation of the masses of people from all kinds of bondages, exploitation of man by man as well as fetters of nature. The adherence to the Juche idea by the present day Korean revolutionaries led by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** in their struggle for accomplishment of the Juche cause is an inspiring example for all progressive people struggling for complete emancipation of the man through socialist

construction.

In my work entitled "Historical Development of Juche Cause", the first volume in the series, I traced the origination of Juche cause and the Juche idea (the guiding idea to accomplish this cause) initiated by President **Kim Il Sung** and the development of the Juche cause. In the second volume entitled "Brilliant Inheritance of Juche Cause", I explained how President **Kim Il Sung's** cause has been gloriously inherited and carried forward brilliantly by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the most faithful follower, closest comrade-in-arms and illustrious successor of the late President. In the third volume of the series, the volume entitled "Victorious Advance of Juche Cause", I tried to explain the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** role in advancing the Juche cause towards completion. In that volume, I tried to show how Comrade **Kim Jong Il** deepened the Juche philosophy, performed brilliant feats in the work of developing the whole society on the Juche idea and developing the Workers' Party of Korea into Juche Party, and particularly I emphasized on the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** "Army First Politics" as his original contribution to the world people's struggle to safeguard and strengthen socialism in the world and more specifically to defend and safeguard the people's state, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. I tried

to show in the Chapter "Army First Politics" (Chapter 9) of that volume how under Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** Army First Politics, all the people in the DPRK are placed under arms and the whole country fortified.

However in that volume I have written only a small chapter to deal with "Army First Politics" and briefly mentioned what Army First Politics means. Today, when in many countries of Eastern Europe and also in the former Soviet Union, the birthplace of the first proletarian state power, socialism collapsed, the DPRK has not only safeguarded and maintained people-centred socialism but also further developed it into an invincible fortress of socialism.

The attention of the whole world is drawn on the DPRK, its leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** outstanding leadership and his Songun (Army First) politics which is the basis of the brilliant feat of the Korean people. And naturally my friends and the respectable readers of my three volumes, strongly urged me to write a new volume explaining in detail the Songun politics. Accordingly I have ventured to write this volume entitled "Juche Cause and Songun Politics"* as the fourth volume in the series. I leave it to my respected readers to judge how far I have been able to explain it.

Author

1. The Juche Cause - Cause of Independence of Man

The first and foremost thing which we should understand and keep in mind about the Songun politics is that it is the brilliant original policy created and being adopted by the illustrious leader and brilliant strategist Comrade **Kim Jong Il** to defend Juche Korea, to safeguard the gains of the Korean revolution, to strengthen the DPRK as an impregnable fortress of socialism and a strong bastion of anti-imperialism and a brilliant policy to advance and win final victory of the Juche cause. It is necessary to understand, first of all, the relation between a revolutionary cause and the guiding idea in the straggle to accomplish it in order to have a brief and correct knowledge of what the Juche cause is.

We often say that the Juche idea is the guiding idea for the Korean revolution and also agree that the goal of the Korean revolution is the final accomplishment of the Juche cause. It means that the Juche cause is the cause of final victory of the Korean revolution, the cause of complete emancipation of working people in Korea and the Juche idea is the basis of the Juche-oriented revolutionary line, strategy and tactics to push ahead with the Juche cause till its final accomplishment. From

this example we can generalize that an idea is the guiding principle and the cause is the mission which that idea aims to fulfil.

The Juche cause and the Juche idea were developed during the course of the days when the Korean revolutionaries successfully waged the struggle to liberate Korea under the leadership of the great leader President **Kim Il Sung**.

The Juche cause contributes to realizing not only the independence of the Korean people but also the liberation and independence of the whole humankind and the world working masses. In the same way the Juche idea is not only the guiding idea of the Korean revolution but also the idea which gives scientific answers to problems arising in the struggle to shape out the destiny of the popular masses with themselves as the central factor.

Thus the Juche idea is a potent thought for the emancipation of man and a new revolutionary idea for achieving human independence.

Today we call Korea the birthplace of the Juche idea and we even use the term "Juche Korea", thus almost identifying Juche with Korea and also often call socialism in Korea as "Juche socialism" and the great Workers' Party of Korea as "Juche Party". These things make some appropriate sense, but when we come to the

meaning of "Juche", we often hear people say Juche means "self-reliance", or "independence" or even "neutrality". To call Juche as implying "self-reliance" or "independence" embraces partial truth, while identifying Juche with "neutrality" is far away from truth.

The Korean term "Juche" is a compound word meaning "Man" and "Master", thus implying indirect meaning "Man is his own master" or in other words man is "independent" and does not remain under bondage. Most of the ancient philosophers and thinkers excepting a few consider man not as an independent creature, but "a mere tool at the hands of fate" and "a pawn at the hands of God or some superhuman or supernatural forces". In ancient times, there were also some thinkers who were opposed to such idealistic views, but they also simply denied some superhuman being above man. and missed to emphasize on the independence of man and considered man as a helpless creature unable to go against "whims" of Nature. Almost all of them, including even those who did not recognize any other "being" above man, regarded "enslavement of man by man" either as a natural phenomenon or some evil which we cannot escape from. Siddhartha Gautama, the ancient Sakya sage and the thinker who earned the name "Buddha" and who was appreciated by Engels as "one of the dialecticians of ancient age", of course, declared

categorically that "Man is his own master". But it was simply the atheistic thought that there is no "God" or any "superhuman being» who created man and the earth". He missed to speak on struggle of man to liberate himself from social bondage or bondage of nature, and simply talked of ways of freeing oneself from superstitious thinking, dogmatic blind beliefs and irrational emotions.

Although Buddha put great significance on consciousness of man, he simply pointed out that man, through his conscious efforts, can free himself or rather escape himself from the miseries of the world. He did not think of changing the world to man's will, which means that Buddhism, unlike Juche, missed to recognize the power of man to change the world to man's need. It was the originality of Juche that it studied the world with man at the centre of everything. When Juche calls man as "master", it means that man is the master who causes and pushes the motion of social movement ahead, in other word, man, the master, is the motive force of all social movements. Juche teaches us that history of human society is the history of man's struggle for independence. The Juche idea authored by President **Kim Il Sung** points out that man whose intrinsic nature is independence, creativity and consciousness struggles for independence and accordingly human society

develops as a result of man's incessant struggle for independence.

A revolutionary thinker and writer, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who inspired the French Revolution, the bourgeois revolution of 18th century in France, said "Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains". He, of course, urged people to break chains and be independent, but missed to show ways to achieve complete independence of people.

The French Revolution threw away feudal society and completely eradicated feudal exploitation, but replaced it with a society of a new kind of exploitation, the capitalist exploitation.

It was the founders of Marxism (Marx and Engels) who for the first time in history thought of complete independence of people or the final eradication of exploitation of man by man and recognized that the independence of the working masses or the class emancipation of the working people alone constitutes real independence of mankind. Juche calls for complete independence of people and the final abolition of exploitation of man by man, not merely the abolition of one kind of bondage and exploitation and replacement by another exploitation of a less savage type as in the objectives of French Revolution. In this sense the Juche cause is the same as the cause of Marxism, but the Juche

idea or the guiding philosophy of Juche cause has a root different from that of Marxism. The Juche idea is the original idea that threw light on the way of the cause of complete human emancipation. The philosophical basis of Marxism is dialectical materialism, while Juche has a different philosophical basis, the man-centred philosophy. But Juche does not reject dialectical materialism. As already mentioned above the Juche idea was propounded by the great leader President **Kim Il Sung** in the course of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle or the struggle to liberate Korea from Japanese colonial rule. It is said that the great leader put forth at the meeting of the leading personnel of the Communist Youth League and the Anti-imperialist Youth League held in Kalun in 1930 a new guiding idea for the Korean revolution, the Juche idea. The Juche idea thus became the guiding ideology of the Korean revolution and hence the mission of the Korean revolution began to be called the Juche cause. The Juche idea was born and the Juche cause initiated during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, which aimed at liberating the Korean people from Japanese colonial rule and domestic feudal exploitation. The task of that struggle was thus, in essence, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but this was the task only for the first stage of the Korean revolution, and the victory in this liberation struggle alone does not

bring Juche cause to completion. The national liberation of Korea and even the successful completion of the anti-feudal democratic revolution are not enough. They should be followed by further revolutionary advances till the final accomplishment of the independence of the working masses. It means that the final accomplishment of the Juche cause constitutes the complete emancipation of the entire people. It can be said that the Juche cause is realized only when men have overthrown enslavement in society, abolished exploitation of man by man and got rid of bondage by nature or fetters of nature. The Juche cause seeks to establish a society in which men seek to harness the forces of nature to their benefit and even try to change nature to serve their need. Only then can man become the master of the world. When Juche calls man as capable of being master of the world, it means the social man or men in collective (i.e. the people collectively), and also man who acts independently or the liberated people. It is only the liberated man, emancipated man, independent man who, as the master of world (i.e. master of society as well as nature), can create a prosperous society and can harness the forces of nature to human benefit. This is possible only when people have become masters of state power and emerged as the masters of their fate and makers of history. Hence the Juche cause is the struggle to fulfil

the task of seizing state power by masses of people and establishing socialism in which masses of people are the masters of society and people collectively work for development, peace, progress, prosperity and happiness of all members of society. Juche tells us that all forms of revolutionary struggles are those of the masses of people to win their independence and that revolution must be carried on until the independence of the working masses is fully achieved.

It must also be borne in mind that the Juche view that man is the master of everything implies that one is responsible for one's own revolution. The revolution in each country is carried out by its own masters, the people of each individual country. When people of all countries of the world successfully conduct their revolution and achieve their independence, the whole world will be independent and the entire mankind will be independent. The Juche cause yearns exactly for this goal. Thus the Juche cause is essentially the cause of emancipation of man and the cause of the world human independence.

2. Background and Historical Base of Songun Politics

The brilliant generals of Juche revolution of Korea i.e. the illustrious guides of glorious Juche cause, President **Kim Il Sung** and Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, have always reminded the revolutionaries and progressive people the truth that where there are people, there is a state and where there is a state, there is an armed force. Obviously it means that when the state power is at the hands of the exploiter class, the armed force is used by the anti-people rulers to oppress the people. On the other hand, the revolutionary people who struggle for liberation establish their revolutionary people's armed forces and fight for independence. When the people have achieved liberation and gained independence and the state power is at the hands of the working people, the armed force becomes the army of the people and works for protecting the interests of the people and for defending the gains of revolution and people's power. The role of the people's revolutionary armed force is inevitable not only for safeguarding people's state power, but also for revolutionary fighters to conduct struggle to win back a country from the clutches of colonial rulers or occupation of aggressors or to conduct struggle to liberate their people from oppression of domestic

tyrants or exploiters. In Korea, the revolutionary armed force of the people was established in the days of anti-colonial liberation struggle.

The great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung** founded the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army in April 1932 enrolling patriotic passionate youths and later reorganized it into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in 1934. With the strength of this Army, Comrade **Kim Il Sung** and his comrades dealt a heavy blow at the Japanese colonial aggressors and restored the lost country.

Some months after the liberation of the country in 1945, President **Kim Il Sung** (then Premier **Kim Il Sung**) developed it into the Korean People's Army, the revolutionary armed force, with the fighters of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army as its backbone based on the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Lenin, who victoriously led the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and founded the Soviet Union, the first working class power in history, Stalin who defeated the Nazi invaders and defended the Soviet Union, the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung** who liberated Korea from Japanese rule and victoriously defended the newly liberated land against the US imperialist aggression during the Fatherland Liberation

War, Mao Tsetung who liberated Chinese people from reactionary Kuomintang rule and domination of imperialist powers, Ho Chi Minh who liberated the Vietnamese people by defeating the French and Japanese imperialists and defended People's Vietnam against ferocious US aggression, Castro who liberated Cuba from reactionary rule and gloriously defended socialist Cuba against the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists and many other leaders of revolution have taught us that even after the country-wide victory of revolution and establishment of people's power, the revolutionary army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which the overthrown exploiting classes have not been abolished inside the country and imperialism still exists in the world.

It is clear that after the seizure of state power by the working class party and the establishment of people's power and of socialist system, the role of the people's armed force is all the more enhanced. The great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, is brilliantly guiding the Korean People's Army to nurture and strengthen it into a cadre army and turn it into an invincible defender of people's power and socialist system of the DPRK in

accordance with his brilliant Songun politics or the politics of Army-First principle. The brilliant Songun politics is an original politics created by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** as an unfailing strategy and policy for defending socialism in the present day situation of the world, in which the imperialists and reactionaries are frantically trying to destroy revolutionary people's regimes throughout the world, and has proved his immortal contribution to the independence struggle of the world people.

In the mid-1970's the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** advanced the policy of strengthening and developing the KPA into true Juche-type revolutionary army and the army boundlessly faithful to the leader, people and revolution. The Songun politics initiated and pursued by him is the culmination and fruition of his incessant efforts. He thought that since the people's armed force is the mainstay of the Korean revolution, it was necessary to model the whole army on the Juche idea. Accordingly on the New Year Day of 1975, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** put forward the brilliant policy of modelling the whole army on the Juche idea. In order to make the KPA such a revolutionary organization in which all the armymen are faithful to the monolithic idea of Juche, the Party, the leader and the Juche cause, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** shed light on the general orientation and basic ways for maintaining the

purity of President **Kim Il Sung**'s idea of army building. To implement this policy, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** intensified ideological education and education in the revolutionary traditions of anti-Japanese armed struggles in the KPA. In February 1979, he sent a letter to the meeting of officials of corps and divisions of the KPA, illuminating the contents and ways for politico-ideological education in the traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Thus already in the 1970's, the KPA made remarkable progress in military and technical preparations under the brilliant guidance of the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

Guided by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s plan of combining the Three Revolution Red Flag Movement with the Red Flag Company Movement and the Red Flag Vanguard Company Movement, the Korean People's Army launched in December 1975 the brilliant Three Revolution Movement involving the whole army. Comrade **Kim Jong Il** advanced the perfect policy to firmly ensure the guidance of the Party over the KPA true to the idea of President **Kim Il Sung** at the Party Central Military Commission Meeting in 1982. This plan was based on the revolutionary principle that the Party commands the gun and the gun defends the Party.

In the development of the brilliant Songun politics in the DPRK, the day December 24, 1991 is of great

significance. On this day Comrade **Kim Jong Il** was elected the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army. This was an event of historic significance in the building of the army as the firm defender of socialist cause under his Songun politics. However, I would like you to note that 45 years earlier (from 1960), the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** had already began his Songun leadership. Since 1976 the US imperialists had proclaimed the Korean peninsula as a test ground for power showdown and expanded the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises as a large-scale nuclear test war. It was an urgent demand to further strengthen the country's defence capacity. In that situation Comrade **Kim Jong Il** worked very hard to enhance the fighting capacity of the KPA, the army of the Party and the people.

He led the work of revising and perfecting combat regulations to suit Juche-oriented art of war and modern warfare. Through his intense guidance and incessant efforts, the men and officers conducted incessant and intense ideological and military training throughout the decade of 1980's in accordance with Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** slogan "Training is also a battle". Thanks to his sagacious guidance, the KPA grew in scope and strength into an invincible army faithful to the Party and people, the army which no enemy could dare challenge.

At the beginning of the 1990's, the situation of revolution in Korea and the world demanded further strengthening of defence capability. One after another former socialist countries of East Europe saw downfall of socialist system followed by collapse of socialism in Soviet Union and dissolution of the Union itself.

Encouraged by this situation, the US imperialists clamoured to destroy socialism in the remaining few countries and particularly tried all means to pull down socialism in small countries like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and socialist Cuba. The situation in Korea was strained to the brink of war.

This critical time of the start of 1990's decade also coincided with greater responsibility given to Comrade **Kim Jong Il** in the work of defence by the Party and the people. In December 1991 he was elected Supreme Commander of the KPA. Four months later he was awarded the title of the DPRK Marshal and in April 1993 he was elected the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK.

To fulfil the greater responsibility confided on him as well as to cope with the prevailing critical situation of the time, Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the Supreme Commander of the KPA, ensured that the cadres in the KPA prepared themselves as skilful military commanders and also political workers loyal to the

Party and the Juche cause and equipped with revolutionary zeal and iron courage.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union, collapse of socialism in East European countries and the end of cold war era, the US judged that the situation had changed in their favour and tightened the ring of political isolation and economic blockade on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

At this very critical juncture, Korea had to face a terrible misfortune. The great leader President **Kim Il Sung**, the father of socialist Korea passed away on July 8, 1994, which was followed by unprecedented floods and drought for a number of years. In such an adverse situation, the US imperialists openly demanded change in policy in the DPRK thinking that Korea, deprived of the leadership of President **Kim Il Sung**, would not be able to resist and that the new leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** would not be able to cope with the situation.

At such a situation Comrade **Kim Jong Il** firmly declared "We will win if we maintain socialism. We will perish, if we abandon it". The birth of the Songun politics cannot be considered separately from this challenge that confronted the DPRK in its building of socialism.

On the New Year Day of 1995, after the great

national mourning, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** inspected a unit of the Korean People's Army.

Then the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** declared that he would protect the socialism of Korea and accomplish the revolutionary Juche cause at all costs with arms in hand.

He was reflecting the unflagging will and belief of the Party. Pointing out to the fact that just after liberation President **Kim Il Sung** had embarked on the road of building a nation at a time when there was neither a party nor an army, depending only on the working class, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** expressed the firm will of the Party and his trust in the KPA, saying that he would defend and add lustre to socialism by starting on-the-spot guidance to the army.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** said that the People's Army should be strengthened to the utmost in order to smash the manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate and stifle the DPRK and protect the revolutionary gains. He declared that his leadership is Songun leadership and his politics is the Songun politics. This was indeed the declaration of the Songun politics.

3. Songun Politics: What It is and What It is not

The title of this chapter itself may sound queer to some of my readers finding that instead of introducing the basic concept of Songun, it is writing on "what it is". I am also including "what it is not". Before entering into discussion of philosophical nature in explaining the theoretical content of the Songun politics and the technical discussion on its implementation, I feel it appropriate to deal on the more simple aspect as to what the Songun politics means and at the same time to contradict the prevalent wrong notions about Songun. Because the Songun politics is a new thing unheard of in socialist movement till several years ago, some people including those in the progressive circle also have some wrong notion about it, even to the extent of misunderstanding to the extreme. In order to have a clear understanding of Songun, it is extremely urgent to remove such wrong notions about Songun. Hence I am going to discuss what it is and what it is not.

Firstly, the Korean term Songun politics or Songun policy is translated as "army first politics". As soon as they hear expressions like "army first" or "first importance to the army", some people take a wrong impression about it as a "rule by the military" or "rule of

a dictator on military strength". Particularly those in countries where military dictators trample upon people's rights and impose inhuman tyranny are scared of the very word "military power". It should be clear that the Songun politics which gives importance or first priority to the army simply means that the Party and the state gives first priority to the work of strengthening the army to make it capable enough to defend the gains of revolution and protect people's rights. Under the Songun politics, the people regard the army a reliable friend, ally and defender in their fight against imperialist aggression and conspiracies of domestic reactionaries. As already discussed in earlier chapter, the reactionary rulers use the army to trample upon the rights of the people, while in the Songun politics, the army is at the hands of the Party and the army is a weapon to defend the people and their cause.

Next, because the DPRK began to talk about the Songun politics only a decade ago coinciding with the death of the great leader President **Kim Il Sung** and the shift of the heavy burden of state affairs on Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** shoulders, some people tend to jump to the wrong conclusion or at least harbour some apprehension that the new line called "Songun politics" is a shift from the stable stand of socialism of the DPRK. Here, too, it should be clear that the Songun politics

itself was created by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** not as a shift from socialism, but to stick unwaveringly to the socialist path.

Also to be borne in mind is the fact that Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s brilliant Songun politics is not a departure from late President **Kim Il Sung**'s military policy. It would rather be correct to say that **Kim Jong Il** developed the army-centred Songun politics to suit today's conditions through the application of **Kim Il Sung**'s concept of giving weight to military affairs.

The whole history of the Korean people's revolutionary struggle for more than seven decades is the history of struggle for independence relying on the strength of the revolutionary armed force.

President **Kim Il Sung** founded the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in the years of pioneering the Juche cause and liberated his country by strengthening this army. After liberation of the country from Japanese colonial rule, President **Kim Il Sung** developed the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into a regular army, the Korean People's Army. Then he established the glorious Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the banner of the revolution and construction by relying on the revolutionary army. All these activities of President **Kim Il Sung** or the history of the revolutionary struggle of the great President is defined by

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** as the history of the revolutionary leadership of giving priority to military affairs. Obviously Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** Songun politics is the continuation and development of the tradition of President **Kim Il Sung's** "military affairs-first" revolutionary leadership.

Following the establishment of the Songun politics, the 1998 amendment of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK greatly enhanced the status and authority of the National Defence Commission and the rank of the Chairman of the NDC. Now the National Defence Commission ranks just below the Supreme People's Assembly. Thus the NDC ranks higher in position and authority than the council of ministers and even the Presidium of the SPA. and the Chairman of the NDC holds the highest office of the state. The Chairman organizes and directs the strengthening of the defence capability of the nation and all the armed forces. It is the symbol of honour and dignity of the nation. Although the Chairman of the NDC holds the highest office and gives leadership to all political, military and economic forces of the country, it does not mean that the army is at helm of affairs of the country. The Chairman, who guides and controls the defence activities and gives leadership to political, economic and military forces of the country, is himself nominated by the Supreme

People's Assembly, the people's representative body. Thus it is wrong to say that in the Songun politics the state structure is militarized. The state structure is not militarized but it only gives priority to military affairs. As already explained in the earlier chapter, the Songun politics is the product of the brilliant strategy of the illustrious military strategist Comrade **Kim Jong Il** and in this politics the great leader has firmly established the revolutionary principle that the Party commands the gun and the gun defends the Party.

It is thus crystal clear that the Songun politics does not mean priority of military affairs over political work, but it simply means that in political work priority is given to this work within the People's Army. Comrade **Kim Jong Il** has said in explicit words that priority should be given to political work within the People's Army. Priority to the army includes many things such as priority to political work within the People's Army, ideological education to be intensified first inside the ranks of the People's Army and the work of modelling the whole society on Juche idea to be conducted with special emphasis on modelling the People's Army on the Juche idea. Although priority is given to work in the army above all works, the purpose of the work is not the interests of the army, but the promotion of the cause of the working class. For instance, the work of modelling

the People's Army on the Juche idea is conducted with the belief that the revolutionary cause of the working class to realize the independence of the working masses can be completed only by modelling the whole society on the Juche idea and that this modelling work should be conducted with emphasis on modelling the People's Army on the Juche idea.

The revolutionary nature of the Songun politics should be understood only in the context of the situation of the DPRK where the state power and the People's Army have the same revolutionary character. This politics is rooted in the present social system of the DPRK where the leader, the Party, the army and the people are united and share a common destiny.

The Songun politics, no doubt, gives prominence to the armed forces, but does so recognizing the fact that the revolutionary armed force is the pillar of the revolution. It does not mean degrading the position of the working class or the working masses of people and other political forces, because the Songun politics is based on the premises that people are the makers of history and the working masses of people are the independent motive force of history.

As already pointed out above, Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** Songun politics is the continuation and development of the tradition of President **Kim Il Sung's** revolutionary

leadership that centred on military affairs.

However it does not mean that it is simply a development of the President's politics and that it has no original content in it. While creating the Songun politics Comrade **Kim Jong Il** has not departed and deviated from the tradition of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle of the Korean revolution, but has developed a new politics to suit the present conditions. Experts have termed the Songun politics as original method and original politics. Victor Kulikov, former commander-in-chief of the combined forces of the Warsaw Pact has called Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s Songun politics as "a completely original method".

Thanks to Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s Songun leadership, the Korean people and the Korean People's Army have been able to defend the socialist cause brilliantly and maintain the dignity of socialist Korea and demonstrate its might.

4. Theoretical and Ideological Basis of Songun Politics

The history of people's struggle to establish socialist system and defend socialism and its experience in different countries of the world as well as the history and experience of all revolutionary struggles in recent centuries have clearly demonstrated that the people struggling for emancipation can achieve their aim only when they have with them the armed forces of their own.

The founders of Marxism, Marx and Engels, who advocated the need and inevitability of overthrow of capitalism and establishing socialism, emphasized that it is necessary to prepare the revolutionary armed forces which they explained as the army of workers, peasants and other working masses of people. Marx and Engels tirelessly spoke of the need for the proletariat to keep themselves armed as long as the imperialist reactionary forces, the enemies of people and the class enemies of revolutionary proletariat are armed and are in power. These observations explain the need for and the role of revolutionary armed forces of the working people not only for achieving victory in struggle to seize state power and establishing socialist system, but also for protecting and maintaining socialist system even after

the establishment of socialist system.

Lenin, the architect of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founder of the world's first proletarian state, the Soviet Union, once said that it is one thousand times more difficult for the proletariat to protect and maintain a revolutionary working class power than to seize it.

He was warning the revolutionaries to remain eternally vigilant against the dangers of the counter-revolutionary attacks by imperialist powers from outside and overthrown reactionaries from within.

These observations of Marx, Engels and Lenin were based on their inference from the experience of the collapse of Paris Commune, the first working class power, after 72 days of its founding, in the absence of a well organized armed force of the revolutionaries. Later these observations were further corroborated by the events in Eastern Europe, where the socialist system collapsed one after another. Events of the Eastern European countries in late 1980's and beginning of 1990's have taught us the great significance and truth of these observations of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Of course, the socialist states of the East Europe had armies with them, but the armies there were not, in the real sense, organized and prepared to defend socialism and the gains of socialist revolution.

These facts that in those countries the armed forces wavered when socialism was collapsing have loudly told us of the significance of a correct solution of the military question in advancing the socialist cause. Based on these lessons of history, President **Kim Il Sung**, the ever-victorious general of revolution urged his colleagues to give weight to military affairs. He already initiated the Songun revolutionary leadership in the early days of the Korean revolution.

In case of other countries, the party was born prior to the army. The same can be said of the Soviet Union.

But on the basis of deep analysis of the requirements of the Korean revolution, President **Kim Il Sung** first founded the revolutionary armed force to defeat the Japanese aggressors. And having liberated the country he founded the Party.

It was not because President **Kim Il Sung** had the party and the government that he waged an armed struggle in the period of anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. He set forward the idea that the only way of smashing the armed enemy and liberating the country is to wage an armed struggle and founded the army first. Therefore, the Songun revolutionary leadership is the original method of revolutionary leadership that was initiated in the early days of the Korean revolution and the whole course of the Juche revolutionary cause is the

history of the Songun revolution that was pioneered by and advanced under Songun leadership. The exploits and experience of the Songun revolutionary leadership achieved by President **Kim Il Sung** provided the foundation of the Songun politics now being enforced in Korea.

The great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** has developed the Songun politics to suit today's conditions through the application and perfectionization of President **Kim Il Sung's** concept of military affairs. Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** brilliant Songun politics may be defined as the Juche-oriented military policy, the Juche-oriented political theory and the Juche-based statesmanship. It is based on Juche, the man-centred ideology, which aims at fulfilling the aspirations of the people to gain independence and live a life of independence.

The value and vitality of the Songun politics have been proved by life, by the reality in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, where today, through the application of the Songun politics, the political freedom and rights of the popular masses have been fully guaranteed, the socialist system has been strengthened, socialism has taken deep roots and the socialist state has become impregnable against the incessant manoeuvres and attacks of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Not only the establishment of socialist system, but also the work of defending and developing this socialist system involves a protracted struggle against the enemies of socialism and an incessant struggle against all odds, because the founding and developing socialism, in other words, the work of building socialism is carried out against incessant counter-revolutionary offensives of the imperialist and reactionaries.

In the international arena, a life-and-death struggle is being launched between socialism and capitalism, and between the cause of people's independence and the aims of imperialism to oppress people.

Socialism has faced a temporary setback recently by the collapse of socialism in the East European countries culminating in the collapse of socialism in Soviet Union followed by disintegration of the Union itself. Only the DPRK and a few other countries have maintained the socialist system. Particularly the DPRK has not only maintained the socialist system, but is also consolidating socialism.

Under such circumstances the struggle between socialism and the enemies of socialism has never become as acute and fierce as now. The birth of Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** Songun politics should be understood in the context of this grave challenge being faced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in

its mission of building socialism.

The Songun politics cannot be properly understood if it is considered separately from this challenge being faced by the DPRK and the present international situation. The collapse of socialism in East European countries and the break-up of the Soviet Union have resulted in the end of Cold War and the beginning of a unipolar world in power balance. The United States is boasting as the "victor" and an "unchallenged leader of this unipolar world". It has become frantic in its effort to pull down socialist systems in the remaining few socialist states of the world. On the other hand, at this very moment the great leader President **Kim Il Sung**, father of socialist Korea, passed away in 1994, and the heavy burden of state affairs of the DPRK and the responsibility of defending socialism in the DPRK and naturally also in the world fell on the shoulders of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**. Of course, at that time Comrade **Kim Jong Il** had already with him the four decades long experience of handling the affairs of the state, the Party, the army and the work of advancing revolution. Even then, he suddenly had to cope with the historic task of shaping the destiny of the country and the people amidst severe domestic problems arising from terrible natural calamities of unprecedented floods and droughts and the united efforts of the United States and its accomplices to

strangulate the DPRK and its socialism.

On the other side, the United States, encouraged by the end of the Cold War and the beginning of an era of unipolar world, intensified its efforts to realize its strategy of world domination. For more than a half-century, the United States was using south Korea to approach Asia from the Pacific in its expedition of controlling Asia. The United States has long considered the Korean peninsula as a vantage point for realizing its strategy of dominating Asia and was continuing its virtual occupation of south Korea. But it had found that south Korea was not linked to mainland China and the Asian continent and was frantic to extend its control to the north and use it as a land-bridge to enter into the Asian continent.

For this sinister plan, even if the U.S. could not hope to dominate the north as they had done in the south, the United States along with its allies tried frantically to compel the DPRK to change its policy. They thought that the adverse circumstances in the DPRK - mainly the collapse of the East European socialist countries, fall of socialism in former Soviet Union resulting in the collapse of trade partners of the DPRK and economic problems in the DPRK, natural calamities in successive years, blockade imposed by the United States - would compel the DPRK to abandon socialism or at least

retract from its principled anti-imperialist stand. When they found that their hope would never be fulfilled and that the DPRK, despite any severe difficulties, would not waver from its principle, the United States planned to destroy the DPRK and its people-centred socialist system by covert and overt use of force. The advent of the Songun politics was a result of this situation of mid-1990s and was a brilliant policy to cope with that situation.

It was in answer to the challenge of the situation, the threat of counter-revolutionary dominationist attacks and the urgent demand of the situation that Comrade **Kim Jong Il** created the brilliant Songun politics which was a power that would defeat the attack and sabotages of reactionary forces.

It was a policy of creating an infallible ever-victorious revolutionary army to defeat all aggressive attempts of forces of imperialism and vigorously advance socialism by relying on the strength of the army.

The essence of the Songun politics is to solve all problems arising in revolution and construction on the principle of giving priority to military affairs and building socialism and push forward revolution and construction by setting the people's army as the pillar and relying on it.

To keep military affairs ahead of everything means that we give top national priority to military affairs and pay primary attention to building up military strength.

The states, which are building socialism, come to face several tasks to be solved in completing the cause of socialism including politics, economics, military affairs and cultural affairs. These are important ones, any one of which must not be neglected.

Military affairs, the top national affairs, is the work to prepare for a revolutionary war by building up a revolutionary army and developing national defence industry and is related with the destiny of the country and people and the fundamental interests of the party and revolution.

No country including Nepal could think about the destiny of the country and its fundamental interests without strong military forces.

The Songun politics requires that we should handle all problems arising in revolution and construction on the principle of giving priority to military affairs in any circumstances and conditions.

In Korea, they gave top priority to and concentrated their efforts upon strengthening the defence capacities even when it was more urgent to solve the problem of people's life during the "Arduous March" and the forced march. That the Workers' Party of Korea did not fall

back even a inch from the army-first principle even under the condition when the people suffered inconvenience due to the severe shortage of food was because they cannot solve the problem of people's livelihood without defending the destiny of the revolution and the security of the fatherland and people.

In fact, if only the security of the country is defended when they have a strong party and state and a firm basis of the independent national economy, it would be a matter of time to boost the economy and improve the people's living conditions.

The Songun politics is the political method of formulating the line and policy on the principle of giving top priority to military affairs under any circumstances and solving all problems arising in revolution and construction relying on them.

The Songun politics is the political method to set the army as the pillar and the main forces of revolution and propel the socialist cause as a whole relying on it. It means it gives first place to the army among other political forces that push forward revolution and construction and advance the cause of socialism relying on it.

The pillar and the main force of revolution are political forces that lead revolution under the leadership of the party of the working class. It is one of the

essential strategic problems in forming revolutionary forces to make a proper selection of the pillar and the main force of revolution. Only when they are properly selected, it is possible to firmly unite various political forces of society around the party of the working class and advance the revolution to victory without the slightest vacillation despite all difficulties and ordeals.

The revolutionary army is a group of core elements of revolution faithful to the Party, the leader and the country and people and a well organized unit that has the highest fighting efficiency incomparable with any other group of society in view of its sense of ideological preparedness, organizational affairs and discipline.

The cause of socialism is accompanied by an acute confrontation and struggle against imperialism. To lead it to victory, it is necessary to form a revolutionary force with a strong organization like the revolutionary army as its pillar and main force of revolution.

The Songun politics is the political method whose essential points are to put more efforts in strengthening the army than any other group of society, consolidate the motive force of revolution as firm as a rock with the army as its core and model, defend socialism and make a breakthrough in the socialist construction by enhancing the leading role of the army.

It is the most popular and revolutionary political

method that let the army defend people and provide them with independent and creative life against the threat of aggression of imperialism.

The Songun politics, which was advanced by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, was formulated on the principle of "Songunhuro".

"Songunhuro" means the priority of the army over the working class.

History of struggle for socialism records tens of hundreds of years and over 80 years have passed since the appearance of the socialistic state. Nevertheless, we have not previously heard of "Songun" until now.

In the preceding revolutionary theories of the working class, the working class was set as the leading class.

And together with peasants they were defined as the main motive force of revolution. The hammer and sickle were inscribed in the red flag to symbolize it.

Of course, to enhance the leading role of the working class is an important demand of the revolutionary struggle and only when the working class accomplish the mission and plays the role of the leading class, it can successfully carry out the cause of socialism.

Under the socialist system, the working class can play the leading role only with the support of a strong

military power. It is because it has to carry on the socialist construction while facing incessant interference and the series of aggressive manoeuvres of imperialism from the very moment when they have established the socialist system. That is why they say a rifle is as important as a hammer and a sickle.

The role of the rifle was correctly defined by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

He clarified that the revolutionary army is the armed group of core element of revolution loyal to the Party, the leader, the country and people and a strong organized detachment that has a high fighting capability incomparable with any other groups of society in its sense of ideology, organization and discipline. In addition, he defined it as the pillar and the main force of revolution that takes a key position and plays a vanguard role in the work to accomplish the cause of socialism.

Thus, he gave a new solution to the question of the position and role of the revolutionary army in the revolutionary struggle and a complete answer to the question of the principle of "Songunhuro" and the position of the Songun politics.

A rifle before a hammer and a sickle is the symbolic expression of the principle of Songunhuro.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s Songun politics considers

the army not merely as a means of politics but a leading force of politics.

The history of human politics records different political methods. Among them, a few politics attached an importance to the military affairs. Nevertheless, all of them considered the army simply a means of politics, not a leading force of politics.

The preceding revolutionary theories of the working class regarded the army as a military force for completing the cause of socialism and defending the country. They emphasized on forming the revolutionary army by enrolling sons and daughters of the workers and peasants and preparing them as the people's army to defend the gains of revolution.

Therefore, in the past the idea prevailed in the socialist countries that the army should only discharge the duty of defending the country and socialism without engaging in the work of creation and construction.

Of course, to defend the country is the function and mission of the revolutionary army.

Only when the army strongly defends the country, they can ensure the socialist construction by force and protect the gains of the revolution.

Nowadays a severe confrontation and struggle between socialism and imperialism is being under way and the position and role of the armed forces for

completing the independent cause of popular masses are being strengthened day by day. Under such situation, it comes up as the urgent requirement for the army to lead the socialist construction as a whole including the work of creation and construction.

The army becomes the strongest revolutionary rank in carrying out the socialist cause in view of the class origin and political and ideological preparedness.

The army leads not only the armed struggle, the most acute one of revolution, but also the struggle to overcome the difficulties and ordeals that arise in the work of creation and construction for socialism.

The historical experience of the Workers' Party of Korea shows that only when they regard the army as the main force in carrying out the socialist politics and form a strong revolutionary rank after the example of the army, they can advance revolution and construction to victory.

In Korea, with the support of the People's Army, the Party and people could firmly defend socialism against the manoeuvres of class enemies and imperialism and provide a solid jumping board for building a powerful and prosperous nation despite the worst difficulties.

We can draw a conclusion that if the army is strong and takes the lead, there will be a success in national defence and the socialist construction.

It is the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who put an end to the former opinion that regards the army only as a means of politics and set the army as the main force of the revolution that leads the socialist politics.

With the establishment of the original opinion and viewpoint by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** that regard the army not merely as a means of politics but as a powerful main force that leads it, the position and role of the army was newly defined, and it was clarified that Songun is inevitable in socialist politics. The Songun politics, **Kim Jong Il's** political method, is an ever-victorious treasure sword of and the lifeline for socialism and the example of the independent socialist politics in the 21st century.

The Songun politics of Korea is a mighty and superior political method for leading socialist cause, independent cause of popular masses, to victory. It enables one to defend the sovereignty of the country and the nation and pave the way for revolution by oneself.

Independence is the lifeline for revolution and socialism. Thus, socialist politics should be a politics of independence from A to Z.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** has pointed out that the present history of politics shows that independence is defended not by means of words or slogan but by means of the armed force.

To make socialist politics as an independent politics, one should give precedence to military affairs and consolidate the military strength in every way. This is the valuable lesson drawn from the history of the Korean struggle for building socialism in the 20th century.

The Songun politics enables one to emerge ever victorious in the confrontation with imperialism. The cause of socialism is pioneered and advanced through the bloody confrontation with imperialism.

The Songun politics guarantees victory in military confrontation with imperialism by building up the revolutionary army, the main force and the pillar of revolution, as a matchless powerful force of firm ideology and faith and strengthening the military power in every way. In addition, it increases the political, military and economic strength with which it can also cope with the cunning and shameless aggressive diplomatic strategy of the imperialists at every step.

The Songun politics ensures the firm consolidation of the socio-political foundation of socialist society and the building of a powerful and prosperous socialist country.

The stability of socialism is the stability of the socio-political foundation that becomes the root of socialism. The might of socialist political method is

expressed in how it contributes to consolidating the political base of its society.

The Songun politics consolidates the political base of socialist society by ensuring the oneness of ideas and fighting spirit of the army and the people, the two forces that defend socialism. Furthermore, it increases the might of a socialist power and the function and role of a people's power by backing up with military force the state social system and the state machinery.

Moreover, it creates peaceful conditions for the socialist economic construction by increasing the politico-military might of a revolutionary army and propels the building of a socialist powerful nation by enabling the army to make a breakthrough in major fronts of the socialist economic construction.

When we use the term "a prosperous powerful nation", it precisely means a country which is strong in national strength and prosperous in everyway and where people lead their happy lives with envy at nothing in the world.

The Korean people who are advancing under the Songun revolutionary leadership of the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** upholding the banner of Songun are now waging a vigorous struggle to build a prosperous powerful socialist country at the earliest possible date.

Acquiring an insight into the lawful requirements for accomplishing the socialist cause and the prevailing situation of the Korean revolution, he initiated the Songun politics to solve the key problems arising in carrying out the socialist cause.

That Comrade **Kim Jong Il** formulated the new and unique Songun politics becomes his immortal exploits performed for the history of socialist politics.

Nowadays in Korea, the Songun politics is an integral part of the political system of the state. The socialist constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (with the September 1998 amendment) stipulates the right of the National Defence Commission, whose Chairman organizes and directs the whole national affairs of politics, military affairs, economics, etc. and advances the revolutionary cause of protecting and consolidating socialism. However, it does not mean that the state structure of the DPRK is militarized, but that the state structure enhances the role of People's Army in defending socialism and achieving final victory of the Juche cause.

The crystal-clear fact that the Songun politics does not imply "militarization of state structure" is also proved by the predominance of the Party over the army. It is the working class Party (the glorious Workers' Party of Korea) which organizes and commands the

army for the purpose of defending the gains of revolution and advancing revolution for the realization of independence of the people. Accordingly the army is the army of the Party. The Party is the General Staff of the revolution and the army becomes the pillar in carrying out the cause of the Party.

In the DPRK there is an oft-quoted saying "The army is just the Party". It does not mean that the army and the Party have the same status or are in the same level, but it simply means that the army and the Party have the same aim and mission based on the same political or class character. Further the army has identity of character with the state, both of them being instruments of achieving independence of the people. Both the army and the state power are under the control of the Party which leads the whole society for achieving independence of the people. The Party uses the army as its might and the state power as its instrument to realize people's interest through political measures.

5. Songun Politics: Defending Socialism in Korea and the World

It is evident that gains of a revolution should be defended by force of arms of the liberated people. As such the Songun or army-centred politics of the DPRK is the politics of defending its people-centred socialism. In other words the Songun politics is the politics of preventing the common people from being slaves of the capitalist class. Otherwise there is no specific significance of Songun.

Politics, in essence, is a social function directing the people's activities to meet the common requirements of a class or society and consequently socialist politics is meant for meeting the requirements of the popular masses. Socialist politics places the wide masses of people in the position of masters of state and society and makes them play the role of masters. Thus socialist politics advances towards the fulfilment of the socialist cause.

People-centred socialism being built in the DPRK is guided by genuine socialist politics which treasures the people and works for the people. Thus socialist politics that serves the interest of the people must aim at thwarting all the manoeuvres of the imperialists who try to enslave the people and this mission can be advanced

only with the help of the armed forces of the people.

The collapse of socialism in some former socialist countries have taught us a serious lesson that the people must possess a strong revolutionary army and also that such an army must be armed with socialist thought. In order to build socialism successfully, in other words, to defend or preserve socialist system and to advance socialist construction, the party (i.e. general staff of revolution) and the state must be strengthened. And the party can become ever-victorious, when it is protected by the army. When the people's army is weak, the state and the party may face a defeat in its battle against domestic class enemies and foreign imperialist invaders. The direct responsibility of building socialism, of course, lies on the shoulders of the people, but the future of the people is guaranteed by the strength of the people's army. Only the army can protect the people and make them strong enough to advance socialist construction.

The bitter experience of the collapse of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian state power in history (established on March 18, 1871 and collapsed on May 28, 1871) taught us a serious lesson that this revolutionary people's power could not withstand the onslaught of reactionary invaders (consisting of 130 thousand soldiers) simply because it did not possess a strong armed force in spite of wide support of the

working people at home and throughout Europe. History has proved that a revolutionary party can stand only if it is supported by a revolutionary armed force. But it should always be borne in mind that the People's Army, an army which defends revolution, is essentially an army of the people, in other words the people itself. The party, the state and the people cannot exist without the support of the army. In this sense, in Korea they say that the army is one and the same as the Party, the state and the people. In the DPRK, the KPA, even in its infant days in 1950-53, successfully resisted imperialist invasion and defended the young People's Republic. Today also, the people of the DPRK could fight firmly against the encirclement of the imperialists, protect the socialist system and vigorously advance towards the goal of socialism thanks to the support of the Korean People's Army. The Korean People's Army is the sword at the hands of the people and the Songun politics is the precious sword of victory which defends socialism.

A pertinent question arises here. We often say that the Songun politics is essential, even indispensable in the present situation in which the DPRK is encircled and being made a target of imperialist attack and in which the reactionary forces are trying to stifle the socialist system of the DPRK. Political analysts also point out that the advent of the Songun politics would

not have been conceived but for the world situation of the mid-1990s. However we should not harbour the illusion that Songun is a policy created by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** as a temporary measure only to face or get through the present difficult situation. In fact he has put forth Songun in the context of the developments of Korea and the world in the present times. Proletarian revolution and its tasks, or the task of building socialism involves a protracted struggle and is sure to face big obstacles. Revolutionaries must get through a series of difficulties to reach the goal of socialist cause. Songun is the red flag which should be upheld continuously till the end, i.e. till the final accomplishment of socialist cause.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the creator of the Songun politics, has asserted that this politics should be adhered to as long as imperialism exists in the world. He has created this politics as a new path to reach socialist goal, at the same time it is a revolutionary path along which the revolutionary fighters can march forward fighting against imperialism.

Aggression and war are the specific products of imperialism. Imperialism cannot exist without aggressive wars. It is the nature of imperialism that it dare not fight strong opponents, but when it spots weak nations, it at once pounces on and crushes them.

Imperialism which suppresses the independence and tramples upon the sovereignty of the people, and perpetrates plunder and pillage on the people is the main enemy of progress and revolution. Consequently socialism which is the path of bringing independence of the people is, in reality, the genuine path of powerful struggle against imperialism. Socialism is a progressive force which seeks genuine independence of the people, while imperialism is a reactionary force which tramples upon the independence of the people. As such socialists can never enter into compromise with the imperialists; rather socialism and imperialism are locked into life-and-death struggle. This confrontation is in both aspects - ideological and armed confrontation. As such without possessing a powerful armed force, the revolutionary people cannot get victory in the struggle against imperialism, nor can they protect socialism against imperialist attack.

The Songun politics is the statesmanship that enables a country to build socialism in its own way. The DPRK adheres to people-oriented politics as the main strength to maintain its independence. Based on the great leader President **Kim Il Sung**'s Juche-oriented statesmanship, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** defined the socialist lifestyle of the DPRK as "living our own way" by which he means adhering to its own style or the

Korean-style socialism which seeks to solve all problems by its own efforts in the interests of the Korean people and the Korean revolution.

Today the Korean people are waging a struggle to create a happy life by building a socialist powerful nation while adhering to and advancing socialist cause. Building socialism is the sure way to build a powerful nation. In his political programme for the threshold of the 21st century, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** said that they should build a powerful socialist nation on this land, their motherland, as soon as possible, so that no enemy could touch it and so that all the people could live in happiness free from all worries.

This pledge of building a powerful socialist nation was undertaken at a time when the DPRK was faced with the most difficult situation, and the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** had planned to carry out this task on the strength of the People's Army and the people. The socialist system which the DPRK has adhered to and the achievements so far made by the DPRK in socialist construction is guaranteed by the special political system and environment of the present day DPRK. This system founded by the great leader President **Kim Il Sung** and being developed by the respected Comrade **Kim Jong Il** is a unique system of single-minded unity in which the Party, the army and

the people are rallied round the leader as one.

Herein lies the strength of the DPRK which has turned into an impregnable fortress of socialism and anti-imperialism and the standing monument of the revolutionary strength and immortal exploits of Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** Songun politics.

6. Songun Politics and Socialist Construction

As explained in earlier chapters, advent of the Songun politics is mainly aimed at defending the socialist system of the DPRK. It is also evident that socialist politics is a politics which places the wide masses of people in the position of masters of state and society. Socialism is a political system which guarantees independence of the people and safeguards peace. Modern age is an age of independence. As the great leader President **Kim Il Sung** has taught us, in the present age, all people want freedom and all nations aspire for independence. In reality independence has become a universal aspiration of the entire community of nations. In the same way, peace has also become a universal aspiration of mankind and an intrinsic requirement of the present age. Politics which safeguards peace and guarantees independence to meet the aspirations of mankind is progressive politics, while politics which advocates domination, slavery and oppression is denounced by world people as reactionary politics.

And the politics which safeguards peace and guarantees independence is exactly socialist politics. As such socialism is the demand of the present age, the

"pupil of the eye" for the world people. However socialist goal is not achieved by merely establishing a socialist system. The establishment of a socialist system means capture of state power by the working class. After establishing a socialist system, the socialist state works vigorously to build a socialist society which becomes complete only after completion of socialist construction. Revolution means change, radical change. Only when a socialist society is firmly established, we can say that socialist revolution is achieved. That is why Stalin has emphasized time and again that the establishment of socialist system is simply the beginning of revolution, not the victory or completion of revolution.

The establishment of a socialist system and the victory of socialist construction (i.e. the establishment of a genuine socialist society) can be materialized only by relying on the strength of a revolutionary army. Even after the state power is captured by the working class and the working people have become the masters of the socialist state, the socialist system can be protected, the gains of revolution be preserved and the state can successfully build socialism, only when the socialist state and the people possess a revolutionary army as the defender of the socialist system and guarantees of socialist construction.

The Songun politics of the DPRK puts forward the Korean People's Army not only as the defender of the country but as the defender of the socialist system and the instrument to create progress and happiness for the people. This role of the KPA as the creator of happiness for the people is most conspicuous in the construction of a powerful socialist country. The KPA plays the role of a precious weapon which pushes forward socialist construction. It is the Songun politics of the DPRK which entrusts this role to KPA.

It can be said that it was in 1995 when the brilliant Songun politics was created by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** after some period of "gestation" like the period between conception and child birth. As already mentioned above, he formulated the unique political method while paving a broad way for Songun with the start of the Songun revolutionary leadership in August 1960.

As a continuation of the endless field guidance to the army, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** inspected a unit of the KPA on the New Year Day of 1995 after the great national mourning {the sad demise of President **Kim Il Sung**}. After the 1995 New Year Day inspection, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** declared that he would protect socialism of Korea and accomplish the final victory of socialism (i.e. the revolutionary cause of Juche) with arms in hand. This decision as the will and belief of the Workers' Party

of Korea was the confirmation of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s decision to adhere to the Songun politics. Comrade **Kim Jong Il** declared in explicit words that his leadership was the Songun leadership and his politics the Songun politics. This army-centred politics is precisely the Songun politics. This declaration by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** was meant in his own words to protect socialism of Korea and accomplish the final victory of socialism.

Responding to the call of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** and accepting his plan and programme as the guideline, the Korean People's Army raised the slogan "Let us undertake both the national defence and socialist construction!" and launched the campaign of advance on the main fronts of building a powerful socialist nation. In keeping with the pledge of the KPA to undertake socialist construction, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** assigned to the People's Army the main fronts of socialist construction, the electric power industry, coal industry, metal industry, transport and nature-remaking projects for increasing food production. Working with a revolutionary zeal on these main fronts, the KPA has been scoring immortal feats in socialist construction.

Among its notable feats, one is the successful establishment of Anbyon Youth Power Station by the Korean People's Army. The construction of that electric

power industry is a gigantic monument of self-reliance. Earlier also, the KPA has achieved the amazing feat of building the West Sea Barrage in five years in 1980's and already proved itself as the pioneer builder of socialism. Furthermore, it is of a great significance that the KPA undertook the construction of the Anbyon Youth power station in an extremely difficult situation of mid-1996 (the time of terrible natural disaster of unprecedented floods) and completed the enormous task just in a few years to show it to Comrade **Kim Jong Il** in November 2000. With amazing revolutionary zeal, the men and officers of the KPA built the dam in the extremely cold deep-frozen water and also they dug the tunnel with mere iron rods and hammers.

Besides the Anbyon Youth power station, the Korean People's Army also constructed Taechon No. 5 hydroelectric power station along with its Songwon dam project, Naepyong hydroelectric power station and many such power production centre, thus contributing significantly to the establishment of a strong base for socialist construction.

Another notable achievement of the Korean People's Army in the field of socialist construction is the building of "Chongryu Bridge" on the Taedong River which flows through the middle of Pyongyang city and falls into the West Sea. Along with Chongryu Bridge,

the KPA built in a very short period another bridge named "Rungrha Bridge". These twin bridges along with the construction of No. 2 Kunming tunnel are connected with the Pyongyang-Hyangsang highway as a magnificent modern monument of socialist construction.

The KPA has also built tourist roads on the Mount Kuwol at a height of more than 900 metres and other mountains. They completed arduous construction of roads along with hundreds of bridges to connect remote areas of the country.

The KPA has also successfully completed a number of great nature transformation projects, thus contributing to increased food production. Such great nature transformation projects include land rezoning in Kangwon province, North Pyongan Province, South Hwanghae Province, South Pyongan Province and Pyongyang, thereby laying out large fields as socialist farms. The land realignment in Kangwon Province alone has recovered more than 1700 hectares of new arable land. It is remarkable that the gigantic land realignment project in North Pyongan Province was accomplished in less than five months.

Apart from such land realignment works, the KPA also stood in the van in reshaping the rivers and streams and rebuilding the roads damaged by floods and landslides.

In order to increase food production and create happy lives for the people, the KPA is striving hard to develop potato farming with Taehongdan County of Ryanggang Province as a model unit. The KPA also successfully carried out projects of building huge modern poultry farms where chickens and ducks are bred. One such instance is the chicken farm No. 112. This chicken-raising centre is unique in the sense that 25,000 chickens are taken care of by one single person and 30,000 eggs are collected per day and 1,000 chickens are processed per hour. Another chicken-raising centre built on modern technique is Hwangju chicken farm which was completed by the KPA men and officers in a short period less than one year.

Also mentionable is the construction of an Ostrich breeding centre near Pyongyang city. This centre ranks among the biggest in the world and speaks of a great achievement of the KPA in providing comfort to the people, because this bird provides delicious meat, tasteful eggs and very useful hide and feathers. The KPA also extracted hundreds of thousand tons of anthracite coal to Bukchang thermo-electric power station and brought it into operation two generators and restored Hwanghae Iron complex. They also helped solve existing problems in Vinalon works and other textile industries.

These achievements of the KPA in socialist construction in the DPRK have proved beyond doubt that the KPA is really the backbone of the Korean revolution and the protector of the people. Indeed, Comrade **Kim Jong Il**'s Songun policy has developed the Korean People's Army as the genuine protector, loving guardian and devoted servant of the people and in essence the staunch defender of socialist system and guarantee of the success of socialist construction in the DPRK.

7. People-oriented Character of Songun Politics

It goes without saying that all the activities and policies of the DPRK state are guided by the Songun politics based on the Juche idea. Juche is a man-centred philosophy which declares that man is the master of everything. Consequently Juche politics emphasizes that the masses of people should become the masters of state power and the society. Only when the state power is at the hands of the people, the state and the society can build their future in an independent and creative way. Before the establishment of the socialist system, no matter whether there existed feudal system or capitalist system, the sovereignty of the country itself was eclipsed. The reason for it is quite clear. It is because in such a time, the state power was at the hands of the reactionary exploiting class. It is for this reason that the party of the working class should struggle to establish a revolutionary state power and after capturing power, to incessantly strengthen people's power for promoting the independence of the people and the building of socialism. For this the revolutionary armed force of the people has a great role to play. Without possessing an armed force of its own, the working class party can neither seize state power, nor consolidate it even after

capturing state power. The Songun politics states that the revolutionaries can successfully snatch state power from the hands of the reactionary exploiters and get success in revolution only by relying on the revolutionary armed forces.

Thus it is evident that politics centred on the people is progressive. But this itself is not enough, rather it is also equally important how the people-centred policy is implemented in practice. Genuine people-centered politics is socialist politics which treasures the people and works for the happiness of the people. Because the Songun politics calls for army-first policy and entrusts to the army the destiny of the people, the army was developed into the genuine people's army and devoted servants of the people. In Songun politics all the activities of the army are directed to the interests of the people. Their sole purpose is to create happiness for the people.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is a state guided by the brilliant Songun politics of respected Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the army and the people are locked in ties of kinship. For the People's Army, the working people are their parents. The army loves the people, respects the people and obeys the people as their fathers and mothers, and the people too direct all affection on the army as on their own children.

For the men and officers of the Korean People's Army, the God they worship is none other than the Korean people. The Korean People's Army, as successors to the Korean People's Revolutionary Army of the days of anti-Japanese armed struggle, has inherited the tradition of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. They have adopted the maxim of the guerrillas which says: Just as fish cannot live out of water, the guerrillas cannot live without the people. Today too, the Korean People's Army have made it their philosophy of life that they cannot live without the people's patronage and that they are living solely for the people. Their mission is to protect the interest of the people, work for the well-being and happiness of the people and in reality they have the honour of being "creators of people's happiness".

Right after the liberation of Korea from the Japanese colonial rule, the Workers' Party of Korea, the party of the working class, and the people's power were established in the northern half of the Republic. The Party and the state have adhered to the socialist system and are vigorously advancing socialist construction to complete the goal of building a fully socialist society. The main objective of socialism is to realize the independence of the people. To materialize this objective, it is essential to make people conscious and organized. In order to attain the socialist goal, it is

urgent to mobilize the wide masses of people in revolution and construction and make them decision-makers in all problems arising in revolution and construction. Socialism alone makes it possible to mobilize the wide masses of people and enlist the efforts of the entire people. The Songun politics means providing people with the sword, the People's Army, and give them strength to attain socialist goals. The Songun politics believes that people are the makers of history and performers of revolution and in discharging this historic task, people get the strength from the revolutionary army. In other words, the People's Army is the sharp weapon wielded by the hands of the people.

How, then, can the People's Army be so powerful to become an effective weapon at the hands of the people? The source of the strength of a revolutionary army is the people and their people-oriented ideological belief. Love for the people, country and nation, and devotion to the Party and the leader is the starting point of existence of the People's Army and the basis of all its activities.

The Songun politics is diametrically opposite to the "militarist policy" of the imperialists. The imperialist "militarist policy" is anti-people dictatorial policy of using the army in the interest of the handful of persons belonging to the exploiter class. Under this policy, the army is used as an instrument of committing aggression

and pillages on other countries and imposing inhuman suppression on the people. On the contrary, the Songun politics is the policy of using the revolutionary army to protect the people against all possible invasions of the imperialists and reactionaries and prevent any sort of threat against independent and creative life of the people. As such imperialist militarist policy is a reactionary anti-people policy, while the Songun politics is the highest form of pro-people political method of democratic and revolutionary nature. The Songun politics thus enables the revolutionary army to inspire the people with firm faith in socialism. This makes it possible for the army to maintain the socialist principle to ever remain loyal to the people in all its activities and contribute to further stabilization and protection of the socialist system. In a state guided by the Songun politics, the state power and the army are of the same character as weapons to realize the independence of the people. Whereas the state power realizes people's interests by political measures, the army protects the interests of the people. Both the state power and the armed forces place the people's interests above everything else. The KPA's dedicated involvement in socialist construction in various fronts (described in the previous chapter) testifies the People's Army's love for the people, loyalty and dedicated service to the people. The profound love

for the people and for the fatherland shown by the men and officers of the Korean People's Army are the crystallization of their ardent feelings of patriotism, their unwavering faith in socialism and their firm determination to live and die for the people. This kind of deep attachment of the armed force of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made it worthy of its name, the "Korean People's Army".

8. Songun Politics and National Reunification

The great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** is creating a new atmosphere favourable for national reunification with his original Songun politics.

As well known, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** gave birth to the new era, "June 15 reunification era", in Korea relying on the Songun politics.

The historical Pyongyang Summit was arranged and the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration adopted, that gave new hope and conviction to the fellow countrymen for the national reunification.

Korea has been suffering 60-odd-year long division. But in recent years, world-startling and eye-opening events were brought about in Korea.

Despite the frantic moves of the anti-reunification forces at home and abroad, the ardent aspiration for the national reunification is now prevailing throughout the whole country and all the people are joining in the struggle to achieve reunification.

The Three Charters for National Reunification gives a great encouragement to the Korean people in their patriotic struggle to achieve the cause of reunification.

The Three Charters is the great programme and milestone of the reunification advanced by Comrade

Kim Jong Il, upholding the will of President **Kim Il Sung** for national reunification.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** defined the Three Principles for National Reunification, the proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo and the 10-point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation as the Three Charters for National Reunification when he was pursuing the Songun leadership.

It is well known that Comrade **Kim Jong Il** went to Panmunjom situated on the fore front early in the morning of November 24, 1996.

Panmunjom is situated in Kaesong area, the southern part of north Korea. It is a demilitarized zone where the north Korean army stands face to face with the US army.

In Panmunjom, there is a monument in which is inscribed the autographic signature of President **Kim Il Sung** that he left on a document with regard to the reunification work a day before his death.

When he came to Panmunjom, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** paused for quite a long time in front of the monument to the autograph of President **Kim Il Sung**. Looking at the monument, he told the officials that the President devoted his all to the reunification of the country to the last moment of his life. And he said that the President not only restored the fatherland but also did his best to

achieve the reunification of the country. He added that the Three Principles for National Reunification, the proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo and the 10-point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation, that were advanced by the President, could be defined as the three pillars and the Three Charters for National Reunification.

The Three Principles for National Reunification clarified the fundamental positions and method to be adhered in the work to solve the question of the national reunification in conformity with the will and interests of the nation by its own efforts. It was the cornerstone of the reunification and the programme common to the whole nation initiated by President **Kim Il Sung** in the early 1970's when he put forward the policy of arranging negotiations in various fields between the north and the south.

One night in May, 1972, President **Kim Il Sung** received the head of the south Korean delegation who came to Pyongyang to attend the north-south high level political talks and advanced the Three Principles for National Reunification where he clarified that the question of national reunification should be solved independently without the interference of the outside forces and in a peaceful way on the principle of promoting the great unity of the nation.

Deeply impressed by the explanation of the great President who clarified the three principles logically, the head of the south Korean delegation was said to have pledged to take the three principles as the great pillar of the reunification.

At last, in July 1972, by the initiative and energetic and detailed guidance of President **Kim Il Sung**, the Three Principles for the National Reunification was declared to the world through the joint statement of the north and the south. Entering into the 1980's, the Korean people were faced with more serious problems in the work of reunification. The critical situation whether the north and south Korea would be reunified into one Korea or perpetually remained in "two Koreas" was created in Korea. Therefore it came up as the urgent national task to formulate the new way of reunification that would smash the separatists' manoeuvres and encourage the whole nation in their struggle for the independent reunification of the country.

At this juncture, President **Kim Il Sung** advanced the proposal for establishing Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, a new proposal for national reunification, in his report to the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on October 10, 1980.

It is described in the proposal that the north and south Korea will form a unified national government

while recognizing and approving the idea and system of each other and the north and the south will effect local autonomy with equal rights and duties.

This proposal meant a heavy blow to the separatists at home and abroad who supported the "theory on impossibility of reunification" and gave the Korean people a great hope and expectation for the national reunification. But with the collapse of socialism in several countries in 1990's, new trials and difficulties appeared in the way of reunification.

With the end of the Cold War, the US imperialists began to clamour about the US-led new world order and further intensified the political pressure, economic sanction and military threat on progressive countries that advocated independence.

Particularly, they made frantic moves to stifle the DPRK that continues to uphold the banner of socialism.

They cooked up a "nuclear issue" to escalate the political and military pressure against the DPRK. The south Korean ruling circles also conducted large-scale war exercises against the north and put an end to all contacts and talks, thus freezing a favourable situation for the reunification.

The grave situation raised it as the important question whether the Korean people should defend the dignity of the nation and achieve the cause of

reunification or pursue confrontation to fall victim to a power.

At that time the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK was held in April, 1993 in Pyongyang where the "10-point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for National Reunification" personally authored by President **Kim Il Sung** was made public.

The Three Principles for National Reunification, the Proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo and the 10-point Programme for the Great Unity of the Whole Nation were the result of the great efforts of the President and the great principles to be adhered in the work of national reunification that reflect the hope and wish of the people.

In front of the monument to the autograph of President **Kim Il Sung**, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** once again made a firm resolution to achieve the cause of reunification at any cost true to the wish and will of the President.

After that he authored the immortal classic works entitled "Let us carry out to the letter the teachings of the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung** for the national reunification" and "Let us achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland on the principle of great unity of the whole nation". In his works, he

covered comprehensively the immortal exploits of President **Kim Il Sung** performed for the cause of national reunification, and his firm will to carry out the teachings of the President for the national reunification at any cost was running through his works.

With the publishing of the Three Charters for National Reunification advanced by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the ideas of President **Kim Il Sung** for reunification was put together as one and the immortal exploits and rich experiences of the President performed for the cause of reunification was able to go down through generations.

It was in June, 2000 when the ever-victorious might and the great vitality of the Songun politics were being displayed to the full.

At that time the historic meeting between the leaders of the north and south Korea was arranged and the summit was opened successfully in Pyongyang in 55 years after the division of the country. And the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, the new milestone of the national reunification, was signed and made public to the world. The historic Pyongyang meeting and the declaration was a brilliant fruition of the great Songun politics. The Pyongyang meeting provided the Korean people with the powerful treasured sword that guaranteed the bright future of the reunification.

On the eve of the new century, Comrade **Kim Jong Il**

matured his plan for the reunification of the country.

At the beginning of 2000, he visited the Mt. Paektu area where the temperature dropped as low as 40 degrees below zero. (Mt. Paektu, situated on the northern tip, is known as the sacred mountain of revolution in Korea.)

Looking down the chains of mountains that stretched from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla in the south, he recollected the instructions of President **Kim Il Sung** given for the reunification of the country.

Even in July, 1994, the year that the Korean people would never forget, President **Kim Il Sung** was having busy days with the reunification work. (The President passed away on July 8, 1994.)

At that time, the whole Korean people were enveloped in hope and excitement for the reunification on receipt of the news that the north-south summit was to be held in Pyongyang thanks to the magnanimity and great decision of the President.

It was said that the south Korean people were in happy mood, saying that 30 minutes TV show of President **Kim Il Sung** delivering an address in Seoul was enough to bring about the reunification of the country. Even on July 7, 1994, though his health was in bad state owing to the hard work without a moment's rest despite old age, the President took care of the

papers related with the north-south summit and left on them his signature "**Kim Il Sung**, July 7, 1994". But nobody knew that it would be his last signature left for the Korean people and mankind.

The passing away of the President, who devoted his all to bringing about the reunified country, when the important affair of the country was near at hand, was a great loss and misfortunes to the Korean people.

Handing over the document that was on the desk of President **Kim Il Sung** to an official in deep grief, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** told him that it was the last and valuable one signed by the President and saw to it that the document be well taken care of. His words reflected the firm faith and will to thoroughly defend and carry out the immortal exploits of President **Kim Il Sung** who devoted his all to the reunification of the country to the last moment of his life.

Following the wish of the great President and the nation, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** set up his will to bring a decisive phase in the destiny of the nation and the reunification work and gave important instructions as regard to the north-south summit.

According to his ideas, the north officially informed the south of postponing the summit for the time being. After that Comrade **Kim Jong Il** also gave valuable instructions with regard to the national reunification.

Various kinds of reunification functions were held successfully at several levels including the north, the south and the overseas Koreans, which encouraged the struggle for the reunification of the country.

Having looked back on the days when he worked hard to implement the instructions of the great President for the national reunification on the snow-drifting Mt. Paektu, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** at last made up a decisive determination. He set up a great plan to make a turning point in the reunification of the country before the new century by arranging a historic meeting and summit between the north and south Korea true to the wish of the great President.

Under his concrete guidance, the historic day the whole nation looked forward to with the ardent aspiration for the reunification was approaching near and near.

In the morning of June 13, 2000, the plane that carried the south Korean delegation landed at the Pyongyang airport.

When the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il** personally came to the airport, the thundering voice of "Hurrah" burst out from the welcoming crowd. It was such an emotional moment that even the south Korean journalists who were there to cover the news forgot their duty and joined the crowd to welcome him.

The south Korean mass media reported on the then situation as follows: "The plane of the president was slowly approaching the spot where the welcoming people were standing. It was at that moment when the welcoming women dressed in Korean national costume suddenly started to shout 'Hurrah!' waving their flowers. We absentmindedly turned our eyes in that direction.

And we were very surprised to see the Chairman **Kim Jong Il** of the National Defence Commission walking past just a few steps away from us. I could not believe my own eyes. I will never forget that moment."

"Chairman **Kim Jong Il** made a brilliant appearance in the international arena. Beyond our expectations, he personally came to the airport to receive President Kim Dae Jung. The south Korean people and the world as well were shocked at his unexceptional reception."

The world mass media also made a special mention about it as a "remarkable event" and "the miracle of 20th century" that the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il** came to the airport to receive President Kim Dae Jung and reviewed the guards of honour.

Many channels including the CNN and NHK went so far as to stop their regular broadcasting to carry the news of Pyongyang airport.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** also spent many hours of the day with President Kim Dae Jung and high-ranking

officials of the south Korean delegation. They amounted to about 15 hours in two nights and three days on 10 different occasions.

On June 14, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** had a 4 hour-long exclusive talk with President Kim Dae Jung.

The content of the talk is said to be as follows;

When President Kim Dae Jung finished a long speech about the "peace policy" and "economic cooperation", the old policy, the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il** said that the problem of our nation should be solved in an independent way by our nation itself and asked him if he agreed with it. Kim Dae Jung expressed his agreement saying that he has no objection to it. Thus the agreement on the idea of national independence and great national unity was achieved at once. And Comrade **Kim Jong Il** said that as the top leaders of the north and the south met for the first time in 55 years, they should provide the nation with a valuable present and proposed to work out the reunification method common to the nation.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** continued they could reunify the country in a federal way recognizing the different ideas and system that had been existing for a long time and allowing the co-existence of the two different systems. He said that if the south could not accept the proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal

Republic of Koryo at the moment, they could make up a common way of reunification by adjusting the proposal of establishing the low-level federation of north side and the proposal of south-north confederation of south side in order to facilitate the agreement on the reunification method.

Kim Dae Jung did not show any objection to his words. Such an agreement was the great success that was achieved in 20 years after of the publication of the proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo.

Next Comrade **Kim Jong Il** proposed the issue of exchanging the visiting groups of separated families in the north and the south and the issue of repatriation of the unconverted long-term prisoners.

Besides the above issues, the issues of promoting co-operations and exchanges of mutual concern between the north-and the south and holding talks between the*, governments were discussed and agreed.

Owing to the original tactics of dialogue, strong logic and the noble patriotism, agreements on important issues as regard to the problems of nation and reunification were reached within a few hours and the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration, a new milestone for the national reunification, was adopted.

In fact, one cannot find such an example in the

history of summit that the two leaders reached an agreement on important issues and adopted a declaration only at one meeting.

The CNN said that it was an unprecedented thing to reach agreements in the first day of talks in the history of leaders' diplomacy and it was a "miracle" and the agreement reached at the shortest time in the history. After the signing ceremony of the joint declaration, Kim Dae Jung himself told the high-ranking officials of his government that the credit for the adoption of the South-North Joint Declaration should go not to him but to Chairman **Kim Jong Il** who is a great man.

Even the extreme rightists who did not support the Pyongyang meeting agreed that it was the summit of Chairman **Kim Jong Il** that was arranged by and for him.

Among the June 15 jubilation the people felt that the day of reunification was approaching near which President **Kim Il Sung** had strived to bring about in his lifetime and recollected the long and rough journeys of the Songun leadership that were covered by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who inherited the President's idea.

It is well known in the world that several months after the meeting 63 unconverted long-term prisoners crossed the division line and returned to the Republic that they were longing to see even in their dreams. In

fact, the historic Pyongyang Summit and the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration served as an epoch-making event in the struggle for the reunification of the country. The June 15 North-South Joint Declaration is the result of the Songun politics. Thanks to the Songun politics of north Korea the Pyongyang summit was arranged and thanks to its independent line of reunification supported by the military might the historic declaration of reunification was adopted.

However good a seed may be, it cannot grow and bear good fruits unless it is well taken care of.

History records that some agreements turned into empty words without any results due to the cunning tricks and persistent pressure of the surrounding forces.

It is thanks to the wise leadership of the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il** that the June 15 Joint Declaration is being carried out without interruption on the Korean peninsula where the interests of the powers are entangled and the situation is more tense than any other regions.

The 55-odd-year old division wall is tumbling down owing to the leadership of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the brilliant commander of Songun. That is why the wind of admiring Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who victoriously leads the movement of national reunification with the great Songun politics is now prevailing in the Korean people

of all strata in both the north and the south. And the dialogues in various fields between the north and the south are being conducted and diversified cooperation and exchange work including the economic exchange and cooperation arranged. Thus they are entering into dialogue-possible new era of reconciliation, exchanges and cooperation from the era of dialogueless cold war.

And also notable changes took place in the movement of the south Korean people for independence against the US since the adoption of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration.

Slogans demanding the withdrawal of the US army and the realization of the reunification burst out incessantly in many different parts of south Korea and the vehement anti-US rallies, demonstrations, hunger and sit-down strikes of the youth and students and people condemning the crimes of the US, the chieftain of aggression, war and division took place.

Meanwhile the conservative forces against reunification are at a loss driven to the corner.

The above facts prove that the Songun politics of the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il** will surely bring about the national reunification and that Korea will further shine brilliantly as the fatherland of the Songun politics.

9. The Successful Fruition of the Songun politics

It is not exaggerating to say that 10 years ago when the manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate and suffocate the DPRK reached extremes, nobody in the world was optimistic about the future of the Korean-style socialism.

But Korea has not collapsed and the world is now looking at Songun Korea with admiration that is making victorious advance at the centre of the world politics.

This proud reality is the brilliant fruition of the Songun politics. The voice of praise of the world people for the immortal exploits of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who displayed to the full the authority and dignity of the DPRK with the great Songun politics is further being raised as the days go by.

In the early 1990's, the world socialist movement had to undergo trials due to the imperialist moves against socialism.

The imperialist reactionaries including the US were bedazzled by the collapse of socialism and their "victory".

But it was no more than a moment's dream. Socialism of Korea that follows the road of Juche without vacillation under the banner of Songun gave new encouragement to the world socialist movement

that was in the critical situation and put it on the orbit of Juche.

Under the energetic guidance of the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il** the magnetic force of the Juche idea as the guiding idea of the era of independence has been further strengthened and the Pyongyang Declaration became the military banner of the struggle for socialism.

At the end of last century, Russian newspaper "Patriot" carried an article as follows:

"The world progressive people called the present era the **Kim Jong Il** era.

The present era is the era when the global cause of independence makes a new advance under the banner of the Juche idea.

The approaching 21st century will move along that direction. Its steering wheel is already held by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**. As the truth of the Juche idea is eternal and the exploits of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** performed for the times and history has permanent vitality the era named after him will be immortal." The progressive political parties that witnessed the truth and vitality of the Juche idea in the reality of Korea that displays its dignity with the Songun politics embodying the Juche idea have become active followers of the Juche idea.

This is the result of the outstanding leadership of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who vigorously led the socialist

movement and the global cause of independence to move forward with the Juche idea as the guiding idea since the mid-1990's.

In October 1997, the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxism-Leninism) informed Korea that they were going to send a delegation while preparing their sixth congress of the party.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** told the officials to receive and give assistance to the delegation and to send a delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea to their congress to congratulate them. The same can be said in regard to the world progressive parties including the progressive parties of Asia and Latin America as well as the communist parties and worker's parties of Western Europe.

Recently, about a hundred Juche idea Study Groups were organized in 50 odd countries including Russia, Canada and the United States in a period of 10 years. In 2000 alone, 32 Juche idea Study Groups were newly formed and symposiums were held in about 40 countries on 300 occasions. This vividly shows that the magnetic force and vitality of the Juche idea are being strengthened as days go by in the world of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

Today, the Pyongyang Declaration is giving full display to its validity and vitality at the same time when

the superiority and the might of the Korean-style socialism is being strengthened under the Songun politics of the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

The Pyongyang Declaration was adopted in April, 1992 when the Korean people were celebrating the 80th birthday anniversary of President **Kim Il Sung**.

At the time of its adoption, the number of parties that signed it was about 70 and ten years later in 2002 it reached about 258.

In the mid-19th century just a few parties signed the "Communist Manifesto" and the number of parties that joined the Comintern at the beginning was about 20, and twenty years later it expanded to sixty. Comparing the above facts, we can guess how strong a magnetic force the Pyongyang Declaration has, winning the minds of the world progressive people.

Even the VOA of the United States aired as follows: "It is not groundless for the US analysts to say that the Pyongyang Declaration that calls for the revival of communism is more troublesome than the ballistic missile of north Korea. It can bring a great destructive misfortune directly to the security and interests of the United States and to its new world strategy and new world order."

Many progressive parties of the world have defined the Pyongyang Declaration as their guiding idea under

which they are vigorously waging the socialist movement.

This is the result of the energetic leadership of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** who has given guidance with regard to the adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration and led the struggle to promote the socialist movement under it while enforcing the Songun politics.

Even a few years ago, the US and Japan has been pursuing the hard-line policy against the DPRK to isolate and stifle it. However, as the military capacity and the one-minded unity of the DPRK grew stronger under the Songun politics. The United States reluctantly started the "dialogue" and "negotiation" with it and Japan has signed the "DPRK-Japan Pyongyang Declaration".

As the DPRK faced the greatest national loss with the sudden passing away of the great President **Kim Il Sung** in July 1994, the US imperialists took that moment as the best opportunity to destroy the DPRK, the last and only fortress of socialism. The US kicked up a fuss about the "nuclear inspection" of the DPRK while mobilizing their followers to bring naked pressure and threat against it. Therefore the DPRK was faced with a violent nuclear confrontation with the US-led allied forces.

And the focus of the world was brought on their confrontation. The world was concerned about Korea

that stood in face-to-face confrontation with the US. But the DPRK frustrated the enemy's scheme and achieved success in the third round DPRK-US talks through the first and the second one under the guidance of the great Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

As a result, the DPRK-US Agreed Framework was adopted in Geneva and a dramatic event occurred that the US president sent the letter of guarantee to Comrade **Kim Jong Il**. The world mass media carried the news on the result of the DPRK-US talks as follows: "A great event that subjugated 'the only superpower' of the world", "The news that is more surprising than bringing a star down to earth", "The thing that has never happened in 200-year-long history of the US and 5000-year-long history of Korea".

As the US could not realize its scheme to isolate and stifle the DPRK by force, it could not but seek a way of "contact" with the DPRK. Regarding the economic difficulties of the DPRK as its Achilles' heel, the US tried to lead it gradually to a "reform" and destroy socialist system by lifting "economic sanctions" in limited areas and soothing the hostile feeling of the DPRK towards the US. The US mistook that Korea would accept its proposal.

Having analyzed the critical situation, Comrade **Kim Jong Il** led the work to force the US to lift its

sanctions on the DPRK.

The principal stand of the DPRK was firm. The US found out that they would be in a more difficult position in regard with the settlement of pending issues including the "missile issue" unless they lift sanctions against the DPRK and they changed their policy. This meant that the US that advocated the "theory of collapse" was compelled to change their policy owing to the might of Songun of the DPRK. As their policy towards the DPRK failed, the US sent the special envoy of the president to Pyongyang in a bid to pass their new "plan".

In May, 1999 coordinator Perry for the DPRK policy who was also the ex-Defence Secretary and his party flew to Pyongyang. In October 2000, the US sent its State Secretary to Pyongyang.

But the stand of the DPRK was still firm.

It was said that the State Secretary made a report to its government after the visit to Korea that the US should not miss such a historical opportunity to terminate the 50-year-long cold war confrontation but establish relations with the DPRK and emphasized that it would be irresponsible to miss it.

Entering into the 21st century the war-maniacs of the Bush administration totally negated the DPRK-US Agreed Framework and cancelled talks and negotiations

and clamoured about "verification" in order to destroy the DPRK at any cost, thus bringing "the second nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula". The Bush administration groundlessly termed the DPRK as part of the "axis of evil" and "a rogue state" and picked it out as the target of its pre-emptive attack. They even went so far as to openly expose their will to disarm the DPRK and carry out the armed invasion and nuclear war in "cooperation" with Japan and south Korea.

The nuclear war crisis reached its height and the touch-and-go situation was created on the Korean peninsula. As a result of the courage and will of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, the DPRK government declared an automatic and immediate effectuation of its withdrawal from the NPT, on which "it unilaterally announced a moratorium as long as it deemed necessary".

The US made the Korean war an established fact and worked out an "Operation Plan-5030", a new war plan, and ran amok to cook up an excuse for a war.

Nevertheless, this event which was little short of declaring a war between the DPRK and the US also ended with the concession of the US. The DPRK is controlling the US with the courageous attitude that unless the US makes a switchover in its policy towards the DPRK, it will take all necessary measures to defend

it upholding the treasured sword of Songun.

Recently, a British military material entitled "The strong country that can conduct an all-out war against the US" said: "... we cannot call north Korea a weak country as it has the capacity to conduct an all-out war against the US that boasts of being the superpower. North Korea is a military power that has the will to face an all-out war against the US. In view of the will to fight against the US, North Korea has an incomparable will stronger than that of Russia or China, and it is a military power that can willingly face an all-out war against the US when it makes a pre-emptive attack on the DPRK."

Whatever moves of the US to isolate and stifle the DPRK will be useless before its "toughest stand" that is advancing under the banner of Songun. The world that keeps their eyes on the confrontation between the DPRK and the US is predicting it. Japan that has been pursuing the anti-DPRK policy and one-sided policy toward south Korea historically, following the US hostile policy toward the DPRK, was compelled to bring changes in their policy in the 1990's. Japan had occupied Korea, a sovereign state, by force, pressure and deception at the beginning of last century and maintained its colonial rule for over 40 years.

But nowadays it is giving in to the DPRK through

talks at various levels.

It was thanks to the strong military might achieved by the Songun politics that the Prime Minister of Japan came to Pyongyang in September 2002, which was an extension of the dialogues and negotiations at various levels. In Pyongyang he met General **Kim Jong Il** and made a formal apology for the past crimes of Japan and signed the DPRK-Japan Pyongyang Declaration. Later in May 2004, he made a second visit to Pyongyang.

After the talk with Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, in his interview, he said that the purpose of his visit was to meet Chairman **Kim Jong Il** of the NDC and reconfirm that it was important to make sincere efforts to carry out the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration and change the abnormal relations between the two countries into friendly relations and the confrontation relations into cooperation one. And he reaffirmed that the declaration became the basis of the development of relations between Japan and the DPRK.

It is the glorious result of the Songun politics of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** that the Prime Minister of Japan came to Pyongyang and the DPRK-Japan Pyongyang Declaration adopted and the progress made in the relations between the DPRK and Japan.

The high prestige and dignity of the DPRK guaranteed by the Songun politics are now being

displayed in different spheres. Nowadays, the DPRK is often called "a small but large country" among the world progressive people. It implies the admiration for the high international prestige of Korea that exercises large influence on the arena of world politics.

The history of Korea that was despised as a small and weak country in the past has now become the bygones forever.

Now Korea has taken the major position in the international arena and is playing an important role by defending the fundamental characters of the non-aligned movement and further advancing the movement and strengthening the unity and cooperation of the Asian Forum under the leadership of the great leader Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** energetically conducts the external activities in person to further promote the international solidarity with the Korean revolution, while wisely leading the struggle to expand and develop the relations with foreign countries on the idea of independence, friendship and peace. He visited China four times between 2000 and 2004. Owing to his visit to China that was conducted at the historic moment when centuries intersected, the traditional friendly relations between the DPRK and China established by President **Kim Il Sung** developed further onto a higher stage and

a solid guarantee for the world peace and security was provided.

The visit of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** to Russia in August 2001 served as an epochal event in raising the international prestige of the DPRK. During his visit, he saw to it that the "DPRK-Russia Moscow Declaration" adopted. The declaration was the declaration of independence against "globalization", the one of peace against war and the one of progress and justice of the 21st century against the reaction and injustice that smashes the imperialists' policy of might. The world people raise their voices of praise for the resourcefulness and the leadership art of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** made another visit to the far-eastern region of Russia and met President Putin in August 2002.

The world political analysts said that his visit to the far-eastern part of Russia was not merely the visit of technical diplomacy but the practical one of great significance that attached importance to both politics and military affairs.

They continued that Korea was consolidating its position and having greater influence as an entity that cannot be ignored in the international arena.

Comrade **Kim Jong Il** also paid deep attention to the work with heads of foreign states who came to

Korea and raised the prestige and dignity of the Republic onto a higher stage.

In July 2000 Russian President Putin came to Pyongyang.

The world front-paged President Putin's visit to Pyongyang as one of the greatest world events in recent years.

Jiang Zemin, former general secretary of the Communist Party of China and President of the state, and Hu Jintao, general secretary of the CPC and President of the state came to Pyongyang in September, 2000 and October, 2005 respectively to meet Comrade **Kim Jong Il** and exchange views on relations between the DPRK and China and international issues.

Heads of state not only from China and Russia but also from Indonesia and Vietnam made visits to the DPRK. Furthermore, the world attention was drawn to the strong tendency of the West European countries to seek an independent way free from the US influence after the end of the Cold War. Especially on the eve of the new century, politicians and diplomats of the Western Europe often said as follows: "The time when the value of the US played as a yardstick with regard to the problems on the Korean peninsula had already ended.", "It is the demand of the times to develop good neighbour and friendly relations with north Korea."

Many countries including Italy, the Great Britain, Deutschland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, and Luxemburg established diplomatic relations with the DPRK.

That the EU members who had previously denied the DPRK established diplomatic relations with it and the visit of EU delegation to Korea prove that they have recognized the system and sovereignty of the DPRK.

As the might of the Songun politics grew stronger and the external relations of the DPRK expanded rapidly, the US siege network to isolate and stifle it got undermined. The Songun politics of the DPRK that opposes the aggression and war policy of imperialism and defends the independence of the country and nation is enjoying the support from the world public at large and progressive people, and its influence over the world politics is growing stronger as days go by. At the same time, the Songun politics has become one of the trends of the times.

In many countries such as Guinea, Madagascar, Tanzania, the ruling parties have made an official statement to follow the Songun politics, the political mode of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**, and progressive political parties are actively holding seminars with special attention to it.

National joint seminar of the political parties on the

exploits of the Songun leadership of the Workers* Party of Korea was held in Serbia and Montenegro in February 2000, joint seminar of various political parties, movements and organizations of Russia on the Songun politics in Moscow in February 2001, national seminar on the Songun politics in Lima, Peru in October 2002 and seminar of political parties of Europe in Belgium in 2002 attended by 40 odd delegates from 75 countries. And seminars on the Songun politics were held in 30 odd countries including India, Nepal, Lebanon and Tajikistan on 400 occasions.

In other countries, they are further developing their studies on the Songun politics and striving to apply it in practice. Also they are switching their policy from "economy-first" to "military-first" and many countries including the Democratic Congo, India and Venezuela are attaching importance to strengthening military capacity. Not only the progressive political parties but also the leaders in direct charge of state affairs and progressive public figures are expressing support to the Songun politics and paying deep attention to developing military might.

It is said that in a meeting of generals on Chechnya war, Russian president Putin has emphasized "Now north Korea is enforcing initiative external policy getting upper hand of powers in the diplomatic and

political negotiations.

The secret lies in the fact that they increased military capacity with the Songun politics. Therefore, Russia should strengthen its military might and pay attention to patriotic education at the same time."

The head of the Russian air corps said: "The words of General **Kim Jong Il** that say the victory of the socialist cause and the peace are ensured by the armed forces are utterly true"

In a function in October 2002, the former president of Indonesia Megawatti said that the national independence and territorial integrity cannot be ensured without strengthening the military might and declared that national attention and investment would be increased in developing the Indonesian army into the army of nation, fighting army and people's army. The President of Uganda said that it was the policy that African countries should follow and is making efforts to follow it

The Chairman of the Workers' Party of Dominica organized the seminar of political parties on the greatness of the Songun politics where he said: "The Songun politics of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** is attracting the world's attention as the original political method that politicians of the world should follow."

The world progressive people are continuously

raising their voice of praise for the Songun politics.

The fact that the DPRK enjoys its prestige as the homeland of the Songun politics under the wise leadership of Comrade **Kim Jong Il** is the greatest glory and fortunes of the Korean people in its history of 5000 years.

Conclusion

The struggle for the establishment of a socialist society involves a protracted struggle that takes many decades, even centuries and may involve the struggles by a number of generations. It covers a number of stages; firstly struggle by the working people either led by a working class party or a nucleus of revolutionaries to liberate the country (if ruled by foreign power) or to snatch the reins of power from the reactionary exploiter class (if establishment of a socialist system ruled by native reactionaries). After seizing state power and establishment of a socialist system, begins the stage of revolutionary transformation of society to reach the goal of a socialist society, which advances towards a classless society of complete equality and independence. The second stage, the stage of transformation is the interim stage which is the stage of fierce struggles against the overthrown native exploiters who are trying to return to power and the foreign imperialist powers who perpetrate aggressive invasion to destroy revolutionary regimes.

It is for supporting the people's efforts to seize state power and to maintain and strengthen people's power that they need support of revolutionary armed force of the people. Comrade **Kim Jong Il's** brilliant Songun

politics is the policy of guaranteeing smooth sailing for the revolutionaries to reach the socialist goal.

Songun is the political method put forth by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** in the context of present day situation of Korea and the world as a sure sword of victory in the struggle to reach the socialist goal. The Songun politics is an original politics created and developed by Comrade **Kim Jong Il** to suit the new conditions basing himself on President **Kim Il Sung's** Juche idea and revolutionary Songun leadership.

The Korean people decorated the 20th century with the victory of socialism in Korea and are today zealously striving to get final victory of the Juche cause. In the 21st century the Korean people are now marching forward along the victorious road of socialism uplifting the red flag of socialism and the banner of brilliant Songun politics of Comrade **Kim Jong Il**. They are today launching the historic campaign of building a powerful socialist nation guided by Songun. The banner of Songun is precisely the red flag of revolution and the banner of victory of Korean-style socialism. This banner of Songun is a red flag which must be held firmly unflinchingly and uninterruptedly to fight against imperialism until imperialism meets the final doom. Inspired by the spirit that they should wage a decisive war against world imperialism and reactionaries led by

U.S. imperialism, the Korean people are firmly launching the revolutionary struggle honestly upholding Songun leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The Korean people emulate the revolutionary militant spirit of the Korean People's Army and courageously solve the problems which they face in their revolutionary march and are winning brilliant victories on all fronts.

The future belongs to the Korean people. They are confident that they can successfully thwart all aggressive war manoeuvres of the imperialists, make socialist Korea prosperous and mighty and achieve final accomplishment of Juche-oriented socialist cause by uplifting the banner of Songun politics propounded by Comrade **Kim Jong Il**. The progressive people of the world are convinced that the Korean People armed with the Songun idea of the Workers' Party of Korea will certainly come out victorious in their march to the final goal of Juche.

BRIEF HISTORY OF GENERAL KIM JONG IL

General **Kim Jong Il** is the great leader of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people.

He was born on February 16, 1942 in a secret camp on Mt. Paektu.

His family is a great revolutionary one unprecedented in history. Comrade **Kim Il Sung**, the great leader whom the Korean people have for the first time in their thousands-year-long history and Comrade Kim Jong Suk, a heroine of the anti-Japanese revolutionary war and indomitable communist revolutionary fighter, and all other family members were ardent patriots and revolutionaries who devoted their all for the country's independence, for the people's freedom and liberation.

Kim Jong Il was clever and wise from his childhood.

His ability was extraordinary to observe and study things and phenomena. He has unusual courage, strong will, kind-hearted mind and generous character.

Kim Jong Il forged burning patriotism and revolutionary class consciousness under his parents' revolutionary education. In particular, he has learnt the great leader's revolutionary ideas, outstanding art of leadership and noble virtues following tens of thousand

miles of his on-the-spot-guidance. In these courses, he had achieved a high degree of literary and military accomplishments.

Kim Jong Il has disposition and qualification necessary to a great revolutionary, a people's leader through his own experiences during the periods of building a new country, the grim Fatherland Liberation War and post-war rehabilitation and construction, and through his serious academic pursuit.

He received general education from September 1950 to August 1960. In primary school days he was always outstanding in studies. He formed a "Group for the Study of General **Kim Il Sung's** Short Biography" in Mangyongdae Revolutionary School on February 10, 1953 to learn after the great leader. During the secondary school period he imbibed the revolutionary world outlook and learnt many disciplines. In June 1956 he organized the first group of schoolchildren to visit the revolutionary battle sites around Mt. Paektu where the great leader conducted revolutionary activities.

Kim Jong Il joined the Korean Democratic Youth League in December 1956. He advocated the slogans: "Let's thoroughly establish the ideological system of the Party among the youth!" and "Let's learn Korean things well!" so that the schoolchildren might become able successors of Juche type to the revolution who armed

themselves with the great leader's revolutionary ideas. He himself took part and set examples in the construction of Pyongyang, the capital of revolution, several times and accordingly encouraged the youth to devote their strength and wisdom to the socialist construction.

Kim Jong Il studied at **Kim Il Sung** University from September 1960 to March 1964. In the university he specialized in political economy.

However, while studying economics, he showed interest in social sciences such as philosophy and history, natural science and military affairs.

To carry out the revolutionary cause of Juche successfully he also mastered the great leader's revolutionary ideas, theory and art of leadership.

Kim Jong Il directed much effort to bring up the students to be reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of Juche. He initiated the movement to reach the target of reading 10,000 pages mainly of the great leader's works among the students every year, so that they might possess deeper and overall know-how.

He took part in productive practice at the Pyongyang Textile Machinery Manufactory, the widening project of Wasandong-Ryongsong road and the military training at Oundong. In these activities he understood the revolutionary and organizational character of the

working class and trained himself in labour. He is well acquainted with the idea of building army and the strategy of war as advocated by **Kim Il Sung**.

Kim Jong Il joined the Workers' Party of Korea on July 22, 1961. He led the primary Party organizations to consolidate the ideological and purposeful unity among the students. He made a conclusion, "Let Us Strengthen the Unity and Cohesion of the Ideology and Will of Party Members on the Basis of the Revolutionary Ideas of the Leader", at a general meeting of a Party cell in September 1962, in which he clarified the necessity and principles for it.

Kim Jong Il saw to it that the university improve the educational contents and method on the basis of the revolutionary ideas of the great leader.

In his treatise "On Re-examining the Question of the Unification of the Three Kingdoms", he criticized the preceding history written by the flunkey historians and elucidated the unification of the three kingdoms on the Juche-oriented basis. He also clarified the basic elements that form a nation. They are the commonness of blood, language and territory. Of them, he went on, the commonness of blood, and language is the most important condition for a nation.

He also conducted ideo-theoretical activities energetically to defend and develop the revolutionary

ideas of the great leader while studying the works of the earlier thinkers. He wrote many articles such as "The Working-class Leader Is Not an Individual", "The Leader of the Working-class Plays a Decisive Role in the Revolutionary Struggle", "On the Special Features and Aggressive Nature of Modern Imperialism", "The Position and Role of the County in Socialist Construction ", etc. He explained that the leader of the working class is not an individual but the brain of the revolution and representative of the interests of the Party and masses. The leader plays a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. He also proved and developed the originality and truth of the revolutionary ideas and theories of the great leader President **Kim Il Sung**.

During his university days **Kim Jong Il** helped the great leader in leading the revolutionary struggle and construction work. In these courses he was versed in the President's art of leadership and noble virtues and determined to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche without fail.

Kim Jong Il joined the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in April 1964 and started working from June 19. He worked there as an instructor and then a section chief, a vice-director and director till August 1973. At the 7th Plenary Meeting of the 5th

Central Committee of the WPK held in September 1973, he was elected as a secretary of its Central Committee.

He made great effort to strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically and to consolidating the revolutionary rank.

He saw to it that the main stress of the Party work should be put on carrying out the leader's teachings, and on the occasion of the 15th Plenary Meeting of the 5th Central Committee of the WPK he brought about a turning point in ensuring the great leader's ideas and leadership in the Party and establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system.

For three and half years from May 1966 to July 1969 he conducted ideo-theoretical activities to comprehensively re-examine the revolutionary ideas of the working class and formulate the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung's** revolutionary idea, the Juche idea in connection with his name.

He led the struggle to carry out the tasks of three technical revolutions set forth at the 5th Congress of the WPK, i.e. to lessen the distinction between heavy labour and light labour and agricultural labour and industrial labour and to free women from the household burdens. He chose the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Works as a model of realizing automation and on this basis generalized it throughout the country. He also actively

pushed forward the rural technical revolution to emancipate farmers from heavy labour and free women from household chores.

Kim Jong Il opened the heyday of Juche-based literature and art.

In the mid-1960s he put forth a new revolutionary policy of literature and art. He concentrated his effort to promoting the classic works written by the great leader during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and then brought about upsurge in opera, drama, literature, music and dance.

In April 1973 he published the work, "On the Art of the Cinema," in which he formulated and systematized the valuable experiences gained in the literary and artistic revolution. In the work he gave comprehensive answers to the theoretical and practical problems arising in the creation of literature and art, such as the theory on communist humanises, the theory on the seed.

Kim Jong Il paid great attention to abolishing bureaucratism and formalism in the Party work and developed the Party work on sound basis.

He established a new system of Party life and strengthened the education in the Juche idea and allegiance to the leader. He introduced the study method of the anti-Japanese guerrillas into the Party and improved the Party work system and method. **Kim Jong Il**

has made great efforts in the struggle for the country's reunification on the basis of the ideas and policies advocated by the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung**. Assisting the leader in foreign affairs **Kim Jong Il** paid deep attention to developing the friendly relations with the newly emerging countries. Therefore, a new change took place in foreign affairs of the WPK and the DPRK.

Due to his outstanding merits and achievements in revolution and construction from the beginning of his work in the Party Central Committee he has been enjoying high respect from the people as the "dear leader".

At the 8th Plenary Meeting of the 5th Central Committee of the WPK held in February 1974, **Kim Jong Il** was unanimously elected as a Member of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and the successor to the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung**.

Today he represents the aspiration of the entire people and the organizational will of the Party. His election as the successor proved that the question of succession in Korean revolution was intelligently settled.

Kim Jong Il formulated **Kim Il Sung's** revolutionary ideas into comprehensive system of idea, theory and method of Juche. On February 19, 1974 he proclaimed the modelling of the whole society on the

Juche idea as the supreme program of the WPK.

In order to realize the goal he paid great attention to establishing a monolithic ideological system in the Party and society. Thus he ensured that all the members of the society were made communist revolutionaries who should be true to the Party and the leader.

In August 1974 he put forward the policy of modelling the whole party on the Juche idea and consolidated the WPK into a revolutionary Party of the Juche type. In 1979 he took revolutionary measures to establish the guiding system of the Party in revolution and construction. **Kim Jong Il** is making all efforts in inheriting and developing the revolutionary traditions of the WPK.

In March 1974 he advanced a slogan, 'us produce, study and live like the anti-Japanese guerrillas!' He has turned the revolutionary battle sites including Wangjaesan and Lake Samji into centres for education of revolutionary traditions. Through persistent efforts and education of the revolutionary traditions, a revolutionary atmosphere to work, study and live as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did, has been created.

In November 1975 he put forth the revolutionary slogan, "Let us meet the requirements of Juche in ideology, technology and culture!" He expanded the three revolution team movement to all fields of

revolution and construction and has established a regular guiding system for the movement. He has also initiated the three revolution red flag movement for the successful realization of three revolutions and the movement of following the examples of unassuming heroes. These movements have brought about fresh successes not only in the ideological life of the people but in the fields of economic and cultural construction. In December 1978, he advocated a new slogan, "Let's live our own way!" in order to solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction. The Koreans are acting in conformity with the demand and interest of the Korean revolution and people.

By launching speed campaign, he led the people to accomplish the targets of the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule under the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

He had also made constant innovations introduced in building socialist culture.

In February 1975 he emphasized on consolidating the internal forces for the national reunification.

In December 1974 he proclaimed the general task of modelling Chongryon (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) on the Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il has also intensified efforts for the dissemination of the Juche idea for global independence. In August 1975, the DPRK became a member of

Non-Aligned Movement. He put stress on maintaining independence and unity among the non-aligned countries.

Under his leadership the WPK has firmly maintained independence in its foreign activities and strictly observed the principles in interrelations among fraternal parties. He also consolidated solidarity with the world people.

Thus, he has made significant contribution to the independent development of international communist movement.

Kim Jong Il was elected to the Presidium of the Central Committee Political Bureau at the 6th Congress of the WPK held in October 1980.

He released "On the Juche Idea" in March 1982, in which he integrated, systematized, developed and enriched the idea created by President **Kim Il Sung**.

Later he issued many works, such as "On Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea", "On Establishing the Juche Outlook on the Revolution", "On Some Questions in Understanding Juche Philosophy", "The Workers' Party of Korea Is a Juche Type Revolutionary Party Which Inherited the Glorious Tradition of the 'DIU'", "Let Us Advance Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Juche Idea ", "Let Us March Forward Dynamically Along the Road of

Socialism and Communism under the Unfurled Banner of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle", "Our Socialism Centred on the Masses Shall Not Perish", "The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party", "The Workers' Party of Korea Organizes and Guides All the Victories of Our People", "On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building", "Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable" and "Socialism Is a Science", thus he developed the principles of Juche idea which is a theory of building socialism and communism. He has consolidated the foundations of the Party in order to inherit the revolutionary cause of the leader.

He has built the Party into a motherly party, introducing benevolent politics while enhancing the role of the Party. He advanced the slogans: "Let the entire Party go among the people!" and "Let's serve the people!"

From February 1982 he has been a deputy in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK. He has consolidated the people's government and enhanced its role in conformity with the development of socialist society.

Kim Jong Il had encouraged and led the whole Party and people to fulfil the Second and Third Seven-Year National Economic Plans. He has been

leading the struggle of realizing Juche-orientation and modernization of economy in conformity with the spirit of the socialist rural theses.

Meanwhile many projects such as the third dressing plant of the Komdok Mine, the West Sea Barrage, 400km water way, the Kwangbok and the Tongil streets have been completed in a short span of time.

In the economic construction he has maintained and implemented socialist economic management system based on unified guidance of the state and revolutionary mass line.

Since 1993 he has led the whole Party and people to carry forward a new revolutionary economic strategy in order to demonstrate the superiority of socialism.

He has brought about innovations in education, science, literature and art by successfully implementing President **Kim Il Sung's** "Theses on Socialist Education".

Under his proven leadership Korea has strengthened the internal forces, promoted the three revolutions, ideological, technological and cultural, and accelerated the process of socialism.

He was elected as the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army at the 19th Plenary Meeting of the 6th Central Committee of the WPK held in December 1991 and Chairman of the Commission of

National Defence of the DPRK at the 5th Session of the 9th Supreme People's Assembly in April 1993. He was awarded the title of Marshal in April 1992.

General **Kim Jong Il** has developed **Kim Il Sung's** military ideas and defence strategy. The army is well equipped with offensive and defensive means. He has taken measures to achieve all people's defence system.

In March 1993 when imperialists put military pressure on DPRK under the pretext of "nuclear issue" he proclaimed a semi-war state throughout the country and took a decisive measure to withdraw from the Non-proliferation Treaty. He defended national sovereignty and integrity by leading the DPRK-US talks to a successful conclusion.

Kim Jong Il has led the Korean people's struggle for the country's reunification.

In order to realize the proposal of founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo put forth by President **Kim Il Sung**, he has ventured to unite all the reunification forces in the north, south and overseas. He has taken concrete steps to improve the north-south relations and promote contacts and dialogues. As a result, 8 times of the north-south high-level talks were held from September 1990. It resulted in the adoption of the "Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Cooperation and Exchange between North and South"

and the "Joint Declaration of Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula".

He has contributed to global independence through his policies of independence, peace and friendship. In June 1983 & May 2000 he visited China. It consolidated friendship and solidarity between the two countries. He has made all efforts for socialist unity at the global level.

When socialism collapsed in some countries, he issued many statements, in which he analyzed its cause and lessons to be derived from. He emphasized the principles to revive and accelerate socialist movement on a new basis.

The historic Pyongyang Declaration "Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism" in April 1992 is a common action program for the rebirth of socialism. He has led the DPRK to develop friendly relations with non-aligned and newly-emerging countries. Through several international seminars and conferences he continues to develop the unity of NAM and south-south cooperation.

The 13th World Festival of Youth and Students was held in Pyongyang in July 1989 under the banner of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship and achieved a spectacular success.

Kim Jong Il enjoys respects not only from the

Korean people but also from the progressive people all over the world.

He was awarded many DPRK orders including the DPRK hero (twice) and **Kim Il Sung** Order (Thrice). He received many foreign decorations, honorary title of professor and doctor.

In July 1994, Comrade **Kim Il Sung**, the great leader of Korean revolution and international communist movement suddenly passed away. It was an irreparable loss. General **Kim Jong Il**, overcoming the greatest sorrow, is leading the Party, army and people of Korea in the struggle of accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche.

He has defined the basic slogans of the Party as follows: "The great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung** will always be with us", and "Let us arm ourselves more firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung**!" He is vigorously advancing the revolutionary cause of Juche which was so dear to President **Kim Il Sung**. General **Kim Jong Il** exalted the great leader Comrade **Kim Il Sung**'s immortal revolutionary history by instituting the Juche era with 1912 as the first year when he was born and his birthday April 15 as the Sun's Day.

General **Kim Jong Il** was elected in October 1997 as the General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea

by the unanimous desire of the entire Party members, army men and people.

On September 5, 1998, he was elected as the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK at the First Session of the 10th Supreme People's Assembly according to unanimous will and desire of the entire people and army men.

Military affairs are the first and foremost matter of the state politics that guarantee the development and prosperity of the country, happiness of the people and successful advance of the revolution.

The National Defence Commission chairmanship is the highest post of the state with which to organize and lead the work of defending the state system of the socialist country and the destiny of the people and strengthening and increasing the defence capabilities of the country and the state power as a whole through command over all the political, military and economic forces of the country. It is also a sacred, important post which symbolizes and represents the honour and dignity of the nation.

The election of General **Kim Jong Il** as the Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK enables her to firmly safeguard her dignity and sovereignty in any circumstances and shine more brightly as a powerful socialist state.

JUCHE CAUSE AND SONGUN POLITICS

Prof. Manik Ixil Shrestha

Nepal-Korea Friendship Association

Kathmandu. Nepal 2006



Prof. Manik Lal Shrestha was born on October 14, 1932 and has his M.A. (Master's Degree in English Literature and Literary Criticism) from Calcutta University in 1956, LL.B. (Bachelor's degree in Law) from Calcutta University, 1957 and B.Sc (Bachelor's degree in natural science) from Patna University of India in 1951. He is currently a professor at Tribhuvan University, Nepal. He is also the Chairman of Nepal-Korea Friendship Association (Vice-Chairman at the time of founding the Association in 1958). He is also the President of Nepal Institute for Juche Studies and the President of Anti-imperialist National Forum, Nepal. He has visited several countries including the DPRK, India, Spain, Austria, Pakistan, Cuba, Egypt, Venezuela and has participated in a number of international conferences.

